



## U.S. trying to downplay Shultz's Arab links

By WOLF BLITZER  
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — President Ronald Reagan and his senior advisers are becoming increasingly sensitive to accusations that U.S. policy toward Israel and the Middle East may shift with the appointment of George Shultz to succeed Alexander Haig as secretary of state.

Privately, they have been trying to dismiss fears, largely expressed by Israeli officials and their American supporters, that Shultz's business background in Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries necessarily foreshadows a tilt away from Israel and toward the Arabs.

Democratic Senator John Glenn of Ohio, a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, yesterday expressed concern that three former senior Bechtel Corp. executives will now be in control of the Departments of State, Defence and Energy.

The Democratic Speaker of the House of Representatives, Thomas "Tip" O'Neill of Massachusetts, echoed that concern.

Shultz is still president of the giant, San Francisco-based construction firm, which has huge contracts in Saudi Arabia and other oil-producing Arab states. Bechtel does not do business in Israel.

Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger was chief legal counsel at Bechtel before joining the administration.

Deputy Energy Secretary W. Kenneth Davis was a Bechtel vice-president. Davis is the No. 2 man at the Department of Energy, but because of Secretary James Edwards' lack of experience in energy matters (he is a dentist), many observers here view Davis as the real power there.

Weinberger and Davis are seen as considerably less supportive of Israel than others in the administration, especially Reagan and Haig.

In spite of their misgivings, Glenn and other key members of the Senate panel were yesterday predicting that Shultz's nomination will be approved. Confirmation hearings are scheduled for mid-July.

Committee chairman Charles Percy (Republican, Illinois), yesterday said "there could not have been a finer choice" than Shultz.

Interviewed on ABC News, Percy suggested that the administration will now take a new look at its Middle Eastern policies. "I believe there will be a total reassessment constantly as we go along," he said. Earlier in the weekend, Percy spoke by telephone with both Shultz and Haig.

Percy denied, however, that there will be any change in the U.S. policy of calling for a cease-fire in Lebanon — a cease-fire leading to a strengthened central Lebanese government.

Glenn lashed out against Reagan for having failed to raise sensitive questions directly with Begin — questions involving Israel's reported use of cluster bombs in Lebanon, other U.S.-supplied weaponry and the continuing establishment of settlements in the West Bank. "These questions," he said, "vex many Americans."

Glenn said the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will hold hearings on whether Israel had violated contractual commitments to the U.S. by using American-supplied weaponry for offensive purposes. Under agreements with Washington, Israel can use such arms only in "legitimate self-defence."

Two of the so-called "RPG kids" captured by the Israel Defence Forces. Right is Burchan Ahmed el-Talib, 12, on the left Salah Mariah Khalil, 13. They claim that they are from the Tiberias area and live in Damascus. They say that they were kidnapped, brought to Nabatieh and trained to fire Rocket Propelled Grenades. (IPPA)



Young residents of Beirut pick up and read leaflets dropped yesterday by Israeli planes urging people to leave the western part of the city. (UPI telephoto)

## Cabinet to decide IDF actions, says Sharon

By DAVID LANDAU  
Post Diplomatic Correspondent

It will be up to the full cabinet to decide how and where the Israel Defence Forces should respond if the cease-fire in Lebanon is violated. This point was made by Defence Minister Ariel Sharon at a press conference following the cabinet's decision-in-principle yesterday that "if the enemy violates the cease-fire, the IDF will respond with full severity."

Sharon revealed that the Syrians in fact violated the cease-fire yesterday, entering into a heavy engagement with the Christian forces at Hamana, north of the Beirut-Damascus road.

Sharon insisted that the IDF's responses last week, which developed into large-scale battles with the Syrians and massive bombardments of West Beirut, were also undertaken with the full knowledge of the cabinet and of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee.

He acknowledged that those responses were not confined, in place or in scope, to the specific violations by the Syrians and the PLO. Israel chose, in response to the enemy's violations, to hit back

in areas that were strategically important to the IDF, he said.

As a result of last week's fighting, Sharon continued, the IDF is now deployed on the key mountain rises of central Lebanon, straddling the Beirut-Damascus road. This will "considerably improve the prospects" of Israel's achieving its demand that the PLO disarm and leave West Beirut.

While the cabinet had decided yesterday to give Philip Habib's diplomacy more time, the IDF's improved deployment provided Israel with other options — "indeed, more than one solution," Sharon said — should the cease-fire break down. Every effort, however, should be made to remove the PLO from West Beirut by peaceful means.

The defence minister insisted that "there was never a cabinet decision" not to enter West Beirut, nor did Prime Minister Begin give any such undertaking to President Reagan in their talks last week.

Sharon acknowledged that the alleged existence of such a cabinet decision has "embedded itself deep in the public's consciousness." Nevertheless, he had checked and

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## Cabinet gives U.S. extra time to get PLO out, without arms

### Leave city, W. Beirutis told in leaflet raid

BEIRUT. — Israeli planes yesterday flew over Beirut and dropped leaflets advising residents to flee the city, as Israeli troops continued to dig in along the stretch of the strategic Beirut-Damascus highway captured at the end of last week, foreign correspondents here reported.

One agency said the PLO blocked exits from the areas they control while another said the Phalange prevented people from leaving. There were no reports of fighting involving the IDF yesterday.

People in the streets rushed to catch the falling leaflets and read them. There was no visible sign of panic, but correspondents noted that more private cars than usual were lining up at checkpoints to cross the demarcation line into

Christian-ruled East Beirut.

But, according to UPI reports, the Phalange-controlled Lebanese Forces started turning people back at the only two routes out of encircled West Beirut.

Reporters who spoke to some of the dozens of civilians turned back said the people had no idea why they were refused permission to leave the city.

Pierre Yazbek, spokesman for the Lebanese Forces, said that "in principle, we are not turning people away. It must have been for very valid security reasons."

The Lebanese Forces control East Beirut and the mountains east and north of the capital.

The Associated Press, however, reported that the PLO and allied

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## Wazzan sees 'some progress' towards saving W. Beirut

By DAVID BERNSTEIN  
Post Middle East Affairs Reporter and agencies

Lebanese Prime Minister Shafik Wazzan, who is still functioning in office notwithstanding his resignation on Friday, said yesterday that there has been "partial progress" in efforts to save West Beirut from an Israeli invasion.

Wazzan made his terse announcement of progress, without elaboration, after a four-hour meeting with PLO chairman Yasser Arafat and his senior aides at the Tourism Ministry in Beirut. The meeting took place shortly after Israel's latest offer of safe conduct for the PLO out of Beirut under Red Cross escort after the surrender of all arms to the Lebanese Army.

It was not reported if the offer was discussed at the meeting with Wazzan, but Arafat told a United Press interviewer later that he "totally" rejected the idea.

He said of the Israelis: "They don't know the Palestinian mentality. I will die in my headquarters. We will fight in every street, every

place." (See further details of interview on p. 4)

Former Lebanese Prime Minister Sa'eb Salam — who has been acting as one of the main intermediaries between Arafat and U.S. envoy Philip Habib in Beirut — said yesterday that the PLO has agreed not to be a military force, to abide by Lebanese law and to give up its state-within-a-state control of Palestinian camps in Lebanon.

Arafat is seeking "an honourable way out," Salam told reporters in Beirut last week — and this, it appeared last night, is just what Israel is determined not to give him.

In a surprise appeal yesterday, Lebanese President Elias Sarkis called on world leaders to save the capital from a catastrophe. In a statement read on state television and radio, Sarkis pleaded for help "to preserve the lives of hundreds of thousands of innocent civilians and the cultural and human heritage of Beirut." The president said he was "calling on you urgently to help us to save Beirut from the certain catastrophe threatening it."

By DAVID LANDAU and ASHER WALLFISH  
Jerusalem Post Correspondents

The cabinet resolved yesterday to give U.S. diplomacy at least another few days to work out a peaceful solution to the siege of West Beirut. At the same time, however, the government is anxious to stress that Israel regards the military option as still open, if diplomacy should fail.

Cabinet sources said after yesterday's five-hour meeting that Prime Minister Menachem Begin did not promise U.S. President Ronald Reagan that Israel will not attack West Beirut. Referring to a stenographic transcript of the Reagan-Begin conversation, the sources flatly denied the White House spokesman's assertion that Begin gave such a promise.

The sources indicated that Begin was very firm regarding the estimated 6,000 PLO men holed-up in West Beirut, making it clear to Reagan that Israel will not relent in its demand that they be disarmed and evacuated.

The cabinet yesterday issued a long "recommendation" on how, in Israel's view, the disarming and evacuation should be effected. Israel envisages two stages:

- The Lebanese army enters West Beirut and accepts the weapons surrendered by the PLO. "All members of the above-mentioned terrorist organizations, without any exception, will leave Beirut and Lebanon. The departing column of terrorists, under the protection of the International Red Cross, will cross the Lebanon-Syria border, moving along the Beirut-Damascus road. The Israel Defence Forces will ensure that in the sector of the road under its control the column will have safe passage. If the terrorists prefer an alternative route, this will be made possible for them by the IDF.

- "With the liberation of West Beirut and the reunification of the Lebanese capital, the political negotiations between all the parties concerned will begin." The aims are: "the territorial integrity of Lebanon, the departure of all foreign armies from that country, its independence and the peace of its inhabitants. This agreement will ensure security and peace of Galilee."

Cabinet sources indicated last night that these detailed proposals are not to be seen as Israel's "last word," but rather as an invitation to consider, designed to elicit a reasonable counter-offer from the other side.

Thus, for instance, although the cabinet proposal requires the departure of all PLO forces, Israel will have to consider seriously a counter-proposal for the departure of a lesser, though still significant, number of them.

Similarly, the proposal for the (second-stage) withdrawal of all foreign armies seems to be canvassed more energetically by the U.S. than by Israel. Israeli policymakers apparently regard the prospect of a total Syrian withdrawal from all of Lebanon — including the Bek' Valley in the east — as unrealistic in the short term. "But we are certainly not going to undercut the Americans on this," a cabinet source remarked yesterday.

The cabinet decision, setting out Israel's "recommendations" for a solution and pledging that Israel will abide by the cease-fire — but hit back hard if it is violated — was drafted by Begin and carried unanimously.

One cabinet source said the premier submitted the draft at the start of the session. In spite of its eventual unanimous adoption, however, it apparently triggered a tough, heart-searching debate focussing on the problem of West Beirut.

Ministers favouring an early IDF assault on this last PLO stronghold urged that time is running out for Israel. They cited the resignation of

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## New Mossad chief in September—Begin

Prime Minister Menachem Begin yesterday informed the cabinet that the present head of the Mossad intelligence service will retire in mid-September after eight years in his post, cabinet secretary Dan Meridor said after yesterday's meeting.

Begin told the cabinet who will assume the post and praised the present chief for his devoted service, Meridor said.

The cabinet secretary added after the announcement that its timing has nothing to do with the war.

## 'About 1,000' terrorists killed in Lebanon

Jerusalem Post Staff

About 1,000 terrorists have been killed so far in Operation Peace for Galilee, Ahuf (res.) Aharon Yariv told a press conference at Tel Aviv's Beit Sokolow yesterday.

A former chief of military intelligence, Yariv has been mobilized by the Israel Defence Forces spokesman's office.

He said that about 5,000 terrorists have been taken prisoner and classified as "detainees" until the government decides what to do with them. As such, they do not enjoy

prisoner of war status, he said. Yariv said "many hundreds" of Syrian troops have been killed in the fighting and 149 captured, of whom 16 are officers and 133 enlisted men.

Yariv stressed that the Israel Defence Forces took great care — sometimes at the cost of its own soldiers' lives — to keep civilian casualties to a minimum. This was made especially difficult, he said, because of the PLO tactic of deploying its forces and arms stores among the civilian population.

The IDF had used loudspeakers, dropped leaflets and brought notables — including PLO figures — to encourage civilians to leave areas of fighting, he said. "The PLO warned local residents not to leave and used tactics including the killing of a child in front of its parents to dissuade people from leaving," said Yariv.

Yariv said 10 civilians had been killed in Nabatieh, 30 in Tyre and about 400 in Sidon, with about 20,000 left homeless. He noted that ef-

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## 9 soldiers buried; no weekend fatalities

Jerusalem Post Staff

There were no Israeli fatalities in the fighting in Lebanon since Friday, the Israel Defence Forces spokesman reported last night.

But the funerals were held yesterday of nine soldiers who were killed earlier.

Samuel-Rishon Zvi Reiter, 25, was buried at the Hof Hacarmel military cemetery near Haifa. An ordnance corps reservist, he worked for Solei Boneh, as did his father, who returned from Nigeria to attend the funeral. Reiter is also survived by his wife, who is in her fourth month of pregnancy, his mother and a sister.

Sarnal Binyamin Shear, 30, a native of Rehovot, was buried in the Rehovot military cemetery. Shear survived the bloody fighting at the Chinese Farm at the Suez Canal in 1973. After studying in a Jerusalem teachers' seminary, he taught for several years at yeshivot in the north. He leaves a wife, two young daughters, both parents, and eight brothers and sisters.

Seren Ya'acov Gal, 27, a paratroop reserve officer who was called up just before Operation Peace for Galilee, was buried at Moshav Nir Zvi. The son of olim from Argentina, Gal spent many of his younger years in Latin America,

where his father served as an Israeli diplomat.

Ray-Tural Eli Pressman, 24, was buried on Mt. Herzl two days before his first wedding anniversary. After coming here from France four years ago, Pressman settled at the new Moshav Tekoa in the Judean Wilderness. He was the son-in-law of Rabbi Leon Eskenazi of Jerusalem, known among French Jews by his World War II Resistance nom de guerre, "Manitou." Pressman is survived by his wife and two-month-old daughter.

Seren Joel (Yoli) Lahak, 34, who

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## Rabin: War's wider aims are still in doubt

By ASHER WALLFISH  
Post Knesset Correspondent

Former Labour prime minister Yitzhak Rabin said yesterday that he doubts whether the government can attain the three additional objectives that it tacked onto the Peace for Galilee operation after achieving the original objective of clearing the PLO from a 40-kilometre strip north of the border.

Speaking in the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee, Rabin said that the Syrians are not quitting Lebanon; the PLO is not quitting Beirut; and a new domestic political arrangement inside Lebanon is no closer than before.

Rabin toured the Beirut perimeter last Friday at the special invitation of Defence Minister Ariel Sharon. In the committee yesterday, he gave the impression that he is growing increasingly critical of Sharon, although the two men collaborated closely in the past. Rabin

made Sharon his adviser while he was prime minister.

A number of military experts in the committee have lately been receiving first-hand information on past and present phases of the Peace for Galilee operation. This information, they appear to believe, is more accurate than Sharon's reports to the cabinet and the committee. The partial relaxation of tension in the wake of the cease-fire has, for the first time, enabled direct contacts between people involved at top-level during the past three weeks and people on the home front who are capable of making professional appraisals.

Sharon, who was present at yesterday's committee meeting, was described by one of those present as being "more subdued than during previous appearances."

The committee was told that the PLO's aim now is to gain, as much time as possible, and that perhaps

the terrorists hope that Israel's doves will prevent an attack against West Beirut.

At this, Ronnie Milo (Likud) asked: "Are the PLO placing their hopes in Mordechai Gur, or in Yosef Sarid?"

Sarid jabbed back at Milo: "You will never be more patriotic than me in spite of all your despicable insinuations, and if you pretend you're patriotic nobody will believe you anyway."

Ehud Olmert (Likud) quoted verbatim from the official records of committee meetings during the first week of the fighting to prove that Alignment members were fully aware of such options as the seizure of the Beirut-Damascus highway, the advantage of destroying the PLO headquarters in West Beirut and the challenge posed by the Syrian forces in the eastern sector. Most of his quotes were comments by Rabin and Gur.



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BRUSSELS	13	55	18
CHICAGO	8	42	11
COPENHAGEN	14	57	18
FRANKFURT	14	57	24
GENEVA	15	59	18
HELSINKI	10	50	20
HONG KONG	26	77	28
JOHANNESBURG	8	46	21
LONDON	11	52	24
LONDON	14	57	28
MADRID	12	54	24
MONTREAL	14	57	22
NEW YORK	21	70	30
OSLO	8	48	20
PARIS	14	57	22
RIO DE JANEIRO	17	63	28
STOCKHOLM	15	58	23
TOKYO	15	58	23
TORONTO	13	56	22
VIENNA	11	50	22
ZURICH	13	56	22

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**THE WEATHER**

	Yesterday's	Today's	Max
Jerusalem	22	19-31	31
Golan	30	18-33	33
Nahariya	75	21-30	30
Safed	19	22-32	32
Yotvata Port	80	24-29	29
Tiberias	30	23-38	38
Nazareth	—	—	—
Afula	34	20-35	35
Shimon	38	23-33	33
Tel Aviv	26	22-31	30
B-G Airport	49	21-33	33
Jericho	21	22-41	39
Gaza	82	22-29	29
Bersheba	21	20-36	36
Elitz	13	25-39	40

**SOCIAL & PERSONAL**

The Moshe Rosen Chair in Jewish Ethical Values in Eastern Europe, honouring the Chief Rabbi of Rumania, was dedicated last night at Bar-Ilan University. Among those present were cabinet ministers, Chief Rabbi Shlomo Goren and Ovadia Yosef, Knesset Members and representatives of the Rumanian Olim Association.

Mrs. Alice Menkes of Jerusalem yesterday attended the dedication of the Siegfried and Alice Menkes Chair in Cancer Research and Experimental Medicine at a ceremony in the Maersdorf Faculty Club on the Hebrew University's Mount Scopus campus, presided over by university President Avraham Harman. The inaugural lecture was delivered by Prof. Reuven Laskov.

The Soldiers' Welfare Association invites the public to an auction to be held on Wednesday, June 30, at 7.30 p.m. at the Tel Aviv Plaza Hotel. The Blaupunkt television firm has donated 100 round-trip tickets to London to be auctioned off. All participants will be eligible for a drawing for other valuable gifts. Proceeds from the event will be used for the benefit of soldiers at the front. Admission fee: IS100.

#### ARRIVALS

Knesset Speaker Menahem Bevan, from a Bond Drive lecture tour in Switzerland.

#### DEPARTURES

Dr. Avraham Avi-Hai, world chairman, UJA-Keren Heyosod, to launch the "Peace for Galilee" emergency campaign in Manchester, England.

WIZO president Raya Jaglom for Geneva.

**Iraqi Ba'ath chooses Saddam Hussein again**  
BAGHDAD (UPI). — The ruling Iraqi Ba'ath Party yesterday unanimously re-elected President Saddam Hussein as its secretary-general, the official Iraqi news agency INA reported. During a four-day conference of the party, which seized power in July 1968 in a bloodless coup, the participants also re-elected Izzat Ibrahim as the party's vice secretary-general.

## HOME NEWS

### Repair work is focus of aid to Lebanese

By CHARLES HOFFMAN  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Israeli efforts to aid Lebanese civilians are now being focused on the repair of the damaged water, electricity and road infrastructure and on getting municipal welfare and other services functioning as they were before the invasion.

The civilian unit for aiding Lebanese civilians, run by Economic Minister Ya'acov Meridor, reported yesterday that the supply of food and medical services is adequate.

A team sent last week by the Labour and Social Affairs Ministry has located local social workers, and this week efforts will be made to reopen community centres, welfare bureaus and other services.

Civil defence Haka teams went to Lebanon last week with heavy equipment to clear debris on roads and in built-up areas.

The local gendarmerie has resumed its task of enforcing local law and order.

The Israel Defence Forces spokesman said yesterday that during the first 10 days of relief work, about \$1,000,000 worth of food and

essential goods were distributed. \$100,000 were spent on emergency water supplies, and \$800,000 were spent on medical services, including treatment in Israeli hospitals.

The Na'amat women's organization has launched a programme of offering temporary shelter in Israel for Lebanese mothers with children under a year old.

A United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) convoy of 15 trucks reached Beirut Saturday night and was unloaded yesterday morning for immediate distribution to those affected by recent fighting. The convoy — carrying 41 tons of supplementary food, medical supplies, soap, water purification tablets, and oral rehydration salts — arrived in Beirut via Hama, Arida and Tripoli using UN trucks and personnel from Syria.

According to field reports, passage through Israeli checkpoints "went very smoothly."

The supplies are part of 123 tons of UNICEF supplies airlifted to the UNICEF emergency relief staging area in Damascus in three separate flights since June 11.

#### SHARON

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there was no such decision on the record.

(A cabinet minister told *The Jerusalem Post* some time ago that there was indeed no formal vote and decision not to enter West Beirut. But Begin had told the cabinet that this was the policy, and all the ministers had signalled their assent.)

Sharon was reflecting a widespread feeling in government circles (reported in yesterday's *Post*) that the publication, or non-publication, of Israel's intention not to enter West Beirut had been a bad tactical blunder, for it had eased the psychological pressure on the beleaguered PLO.

Referring to the cabinet's demand that all PLO men withdraw from Beirut, Sharon said Israel cannot agree to the idea that just the leadership leave while the rank-and-file move back into the Palestinian refugee camps. "That will hardly be a change from the present situation," he said. "The Lebanese army will certainly be unable to disarm or control the remaining terrorists."

Israel is similarly firm in rejecting proposals for a partial withdrawal of the IDF before the PLO has been disarmed, and evacuated, Sharon added.

Sharon said the reports that the PLO is blocking the exits from West Beirut and not allowing non-combatants to leave shows that the PLO "still holds people hostage — just as it has always done."

He called once more for "patience and firm resolve" by Israel. If Israel sticks firmly to its

goals, he said, it will surely achieve them.

The resignation of U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig "ought not to affect the decisions and actions of Israel," Sharon asserted. Haig, to be sure, is a much-admired friend, but the ties between the U.S. and Israel run very deep.

Sharon hit out hard at the opposition's criticism of the war. He accused the Labour Party of "making (political) profit out of the fallen" and said this conduct is "utterly unprecedented in the history of the nation." Soldiers on the front are inevitably affected by "the incessant strictures back home that the war is unnecessary, that the cabinet knows nothing, that the Knesset is kept in ignorance, that the IDF must not take Beirut...Does this add to the confidence of the 18-year-old soldier?"

Sharon said he had urged the top Labour leaders to take their complaints and criticism directly to Begin or to the full cabinet, rather than air them publicly so that the fighting troops hear them hourly over their transistor radios.

But in the final analysis, he believed, "the soldiers and their officers are thinking people...they think, and they understand, just as the vast majority of the people understand that we have to smash terrorism and that is what this war is all about." The opposition will not gain anything from its behaviour, he said.

Sharon disclosed that "nearly one third" of the reservists called up for the war have already been released. He said the IDF has been instructed to begin rotating reservists.

#### 1,000 TERRORISTS

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forts are underway by Israeli authorities to find shelter for those in need.

In contrast, Yariv recalled that about 99,000 civilians were killed and over 250,000 wounded in seven years of civil war in Lebanon. Last year Syrian shelling alone killed over 400 Lebanese civilians and wounded 800, primarily in Zahlé and East Beirut. Since 1975, 180,000 refugees fled PLO terror in Southern Lebanon, he said.

Yariv said that the IDF used U.S.-made cluster bombs during the fighting, mainly against Syrian armour concentrations and organized resistance by PLO forces. "They were not used in areas of civilian concentrations," Yariv stressed.

"What has been published by many representatives of the media has been grossly, and several times malevolently exaggerated," Yariv said. "There are hardly 600,000 people in all of Southern Lebanon," he

said, apparently referring to much-touted earlier reports in the foreign news media.

Yariv did not say how many of the 460 casualties in Nabatieh, Tyre and Sidon were Lebanese citizens and how many Palestinians, or when the IDF will release figures for Palestinian civilians killed outside those three towns.

Foreign correspondents, not yet permitted into the large Palestinian refugee camps at Ein Hilwe, near Sidon, and Rashadiye, near Tyre, have noted from a distance the great damage done to buildings in these shanty-towns during the fighting.

The IDF spokesman would not say how many civilians or terrorists have died in the fighting in Beirut, which the IDF has been bombing and shelling intermittently for the past three weeks. Lebanese official sources and foreign journalists contend there are many Palestinian and Lebanese civilian casualties in Lebanon's capital.

#### EXTRA TIME

(Continued from Page One)

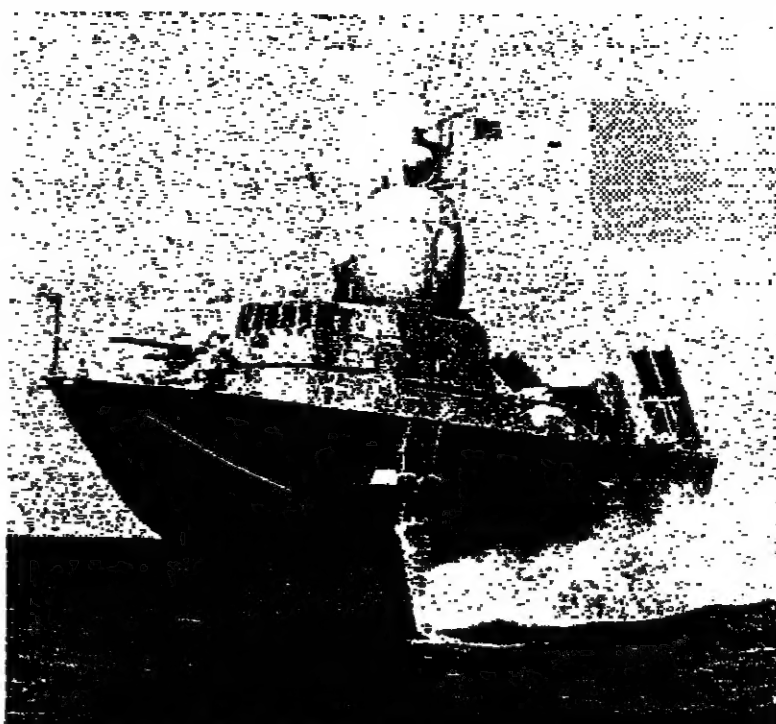
Alexander Haig as secretary of state, mounting world opposition and unrest on the home front as factors militating towards fast action in Beirut.

The majority took Begin's line, however, favouring another round of U.S. envoy Philip Habib's diplomatic efforts. Begin argued that the U.S. veto of the Security Council draft resolution requiring Israel to pull back means there is no formal impediment to the IDF's staying put.

Plainly, the issues of casualties already suffered, and likely to be suffered in an assault on West Beirut, hung heavy over the cabinet's deliberations.

Cabinet sources said the decision implies "at least a few days' grace" for Habib. Another cabinet meeting is probable later in the week and, if the American envoy reports no progress, the ministers will have to "study the other options."

Several ministers have acknowledged that the credibility of Israel's military option against West Beirut was weakened by the plethora of reports over the last 10 days that the cabinet had ruled out a military attack. Hence, the present effort to restore that credibility by the assertions that Begin gave no promises and that the cabinet is prepared to resort to "other options" if necessary.



An American-built hydrofoil which, *Aviation Week* reports, is shortly to be handed over to the Israel Navy, flies the U.S. ensign as it undergoes trials off the Florida coast.

### Tests of new navy hydrofoils may herald locally made fleet

Jerusalem Post Staff

The Israel Navy will soon take delivery of a U.S.-built hydrofoil patrol boat, *Aviation Week & Space Technology* reports in its current edition. Built by Grumman Aerospace Corp., the vessel is to join a duplicate hydrofoil now being completed under Grumman supervision at Israel Shipyards in Haifa.

The two vessels will be tested together under operational conditions to determine if Israel will build a hydrofoil fleet, the magazine reports.

The 28-metre long, aluminium-

hulled boats will be armed with McDonnell Douglas Harpoon and Israel Aircraft Industries Gabriel missiles and twin 30-mm. guns. When foil-borne, the 100-ton boats can reach speeds of 50 knots.

The Israel Navy will name the Grumman boat, undergoing sea trials off the Florida coast, Shimrit, (the name of a Moabite woman mentioned in the Bible, possibly connected with the word for guard.) It is a larger version of a Grumman hydrofoil used by the U.S. Navy in Vietnam and now in service with the U.S. Coast Guard.

### Olympic terrorists said captured

BONN (JTA). — A German lawyer said yesterday that he has asked the federal justice minister in Bonn to seek the extradition of three Palestinian terrorists who participated in the attack on the Israeli team to the Munich Olympics in 1972, and were allegedly captured by the Israelis in Lebanon. The three are Abdullah Mohammed Summer, Ibrahim Mas'ud Badran and Abdul Kader Danawi.

Wilhelm Schoettler, who represented the three while they were in a German prison pending their trial, said he still has a signed power of attorney from every one of the three. The three were released before being brought to trial, after terrorists hijacked a German plane and ransomed them.

Asked why he demanded extradition, the German lawyer said that, according to the Arab view, the three terrorists will not receive a fair trial in Israel. He added that an extradition would be justified because the terrorists operated on German soil.

Schoettler, who is known for his right-wing political views, said he is not a member of the Nazi party or of any neo-Nazi organization. He said that if the three terrorists are not extradited to Germany, he will come to Jerusalem to defend them before an Israeli court.

Asked how he knew that the three terrorists were arrested by the Israelis during the military operation in Lebanon, he said that the German press had so reported.

### NINE BURIED

(Continued from Page One)

was with the Security Services when he was killed in Lebanon, was buried at Moshav Beit Herut, where he grew up. He was eulogized by his commanding officer, who revealed that Lahak had been active in the fight against terrorism in the Gaza District in 1970 and later settled on a Jordan Valley moshav. He leaves a wife, a daughter, 9, two sons 4 and 7, and a brother.

Rav-Turai Lotan Yitzhaki, 21, was buried at his native Kibbutz Afikim. Her served in the Golani brigade, and fell near Bhamdoun. He leaves a mother, brother, and three sisters.

Rav-Turai Gideon Rov (Hillevich), 30, fell in fighting on Thursday and was buried yesterday at Kiryat Shaul Cemetery. Rov studied in the Nehalim hesder yeshiva and afterwards worked in his family's hotel in Tel Aviv. He is survived by his wife of three months, parents, and a brother and sister in Ramat Gan.

Segen Gavriel Horowitz, 22, of Bat Yam, was also buried in Kiryat Shaul. He had recently completed an Armoured Corps officers' course. He is survived by his parents and brother.

Samal Joav Jitschak Davids, 26, of Ramat Gan, was serving with the Golani reconnaissance unit when he was killed. Born in Holland, Davids is survived by his wife, two young children, parents and sister. He was also buried in Kiryat Shaul.

The spokesman announced yesterday that the funeral of Seren Moshe Finkelstein, who fell in last Thursday's clashes with the Syrians in the central sector, will be held today at 11.45 a.m. in the Haifa cemetery. (Tum)

### Satellite boost denied

Jerusalem Post Staff

The Communications Ministry yesterday decided to withdraw facilities formerly made available for foreign television news journalists to send material abroad from West Beirut via satellite, the Government Press Office announced.

This step ends the situation whereby Israeli satellite transmission facilities were used to transmit reports recorded in Palestine Liberation Organization-held areas of West Beirut — reports often hostile to Israel.

### Syrians building up strength with fresh troops, terrorists

By MENAHEM HOROWITZ  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

BEK' A VALLEY, Lebanon. — The Syrian army has begun strengthening its forces here, according to Israel Defence Forces officers in the central and eastern sectors. Many Syrian soldiers are said to have arrived from Damascus.

Syrian positions in the Bek'a have also been reinforced by hundreds of terrorists who escaped from areas in South Lebanon, particularly Fatehland.

Yesterday, Syrian soldiers could clearly be seen from IDF observation posts digging in and repairing damaged tanks.

"We'll continue observing the cease-fire," said a high-ranking IDF officer responsible for the eastern sector, two days after the cease-fire

went into effect. He also said that the area under Israeli control gives the IDF tactical advantage.

On the Beirut-Damascus highway, there were many wrecked and burned vehicles to be seen following the battles of recent days.

In spite of the cease-fire, the IDF is still rounding up terrorists in South Lebanon.

The IDF officer said that in contrast with experience in other areas, where villagers were reported to have received Israeli soldiers with enthusiasm, it was his impression that in the Bek'a, IDF troops are beginning to feel animosity from Moslems whose villages were captured at the end of the week. As a result, the IDF presence in some of these villages has been reinforced, in order to forestall hostile acts.

### Phalange leader says PLO to blame for Beirut's agony

By WOLF BLITZER  
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — Lebanese Phalange leader Bashir Jemayel has blamed Yasser Arafat and the PLO for the continuing destruction of West Beirut.

In a television interview broadcast yesterday by ABC news, the Christian leader urged Arafat and his followers to leave Beirut before Israeli forces strike against them.

Jemayel revealed that the PLO chief had actually telephoned him on Friday night — an indication of the tight corner in which the PLO leader finds himself. For years, the PLO and the Phalange have been bitter opponents.

"I told him that it's enough," Jemayel said. He condemned the

PLO for "destroying the Lebanese army and the Lebanese state." Actions by the PLO have also destroyed "the Syrian army and much of the Syrian state," he added.

Jemayel conspicuously avoided criticizing Israel for moving its forces into Lebanon. He explained that the Phalange has not joined forces with Israel because Israel has its own interests at stake. "The Israelis are not doing this for me," he said. However, the thrust of his comments was rather full of praise for Israel.

He called for a new and democratic Lebanon in which Christians and Moslems would have equal status and rights.

### Arab League fails to agree

TUNIS (Reuters). — Arab foreign ministers failed to reach a common stand on the situation in Lebanon when they met here yesterday to discuss Israel's three-week-old invasion of its northern neighbour, conference sources said.

They said the Arab League Council's special meeting, held at the request of the PLO, had ended without the ministers making any recommendations on how to deal

with the crisis.

But League secretary-general Cheddi Klibi told a news conference that the ministers decided to set up a six-member committee that will continue efforts to seek a common Arab stance.

The PLO had demanded at yesterday's meeting that Arab states impose economic sanctions against the U.S. on the grounds that it is supporting Israel.

### Egypt would preserve PLO political entity

Post Mideast Affairs Reporter and agencies

Egypt confirmed yesterday that its current diplomatic drive is aimed at preserving "the political entity of the PLO" and initiating a "Palestinian-Israeli dialogue."

The Egyptian position was spelled out by Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Butros Ghali in a statement to the People's Assembly on the Lebanese crisis.

Ghali did not elaborate on what he meant by a "Palestinian-Israeli dialogue." He may have been referring to a possible role in the autonomy talks for a Palestinian "government in exile," which Presi-

dent Hosni Mubarak last week suggested might be set up in Cairo.

Ghali was also quoted by the official Egyptian Middle East News Agency (MENA) as telling a radio interviewer that Egypt will stick by its treaty with Israel, in spite of the Lebanese crisis.

The Egyptian government has come under increasing pressure, from both opposition parties and the press in Egypt, to take punitive action against Israel to express Egypt's disapproval of its actions in Lebanon. However, Prime Minister Fuad Mohieddin told the government's critics that such a move will not serve Egypt's national interests.

### Soares due here for Lebanon briefing

By SARAH HONIG  
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Former Portuguese premier Mario Soares is due in Israel this afternoon as special envoy of the Socialist International to investigate the situation in Lebanon and report back.

Soares, who heads his country's Socialist Party, will meet with Labour Party Chairman Shimon Peres and will probably travel to Lebanon, where he expects to meet with leftist leader Walid Jumblatt. Soares may also meet members of the government here and in Lebanon, although the appoint-

ments have yet to be made.

The Socialist International presidium will convene after Soares draws up his report to adopt an official position on Operation Peace for Galilee. So far, there have been extremely hostile reactions to the war from Socialist parties all over Europe, with the most outspoken criticism coming from Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky, who demanded an urgent session of the International's presidium. Kreisky also accused the Israel Labour Party of having supported the war and questioned its credentials as a socialist party.

**BAR-ILAN UNIVERSITY**

The Conferment of Ph.D. and Masters Degrees and  
The Conferment of Honorary Degrees upon

**MR. STANLEY LEWIS**  
**Dr. ITZHAK ERNST NEBENZAHL**  
**PROFESSOR SIMCHA NOAH KRAMER**  
**Mr. SHLOMO ZALMAN SHRAGAI**

will take place on Tuesday, June 29, 1982  
at 6.30 p.m. on the Alec and Eileen Colman Plaza,  
on the University campus.

**TOMORROW —**  
**Civil Defence (Haga) Exercise**  
**in Netanya Area**

A Civil Defence exercise will take place tomorrow, Tuesday, June 29, 1982 in the Netivot area. Participating in the exercise will be Civil Defence (Haga), police, Civil Guard and Gadna personnel. During the exercise, there will be siren sounds and simulated explosions. At 2 p.m. the all clear will be sounded. In case of an actual alert, rising and descending siren calls will be sounded.

**בוס הנחומים**

Shlomit Auman-Kahn  
David  
Johnnie and Esther Auman  
Chaim and Alisa Kahn  
brothers, sisters and families

on the tragic loss of our cousin,  
your dear

**SHLOMO** הלוי

who fell in action defending us  
and who in his short span of years touched so many lives,  
including ours.

Charles and Els Bendheim  
Jack and Giti Bendheim  
Marvin and Aviva Sussman  
Aver and Edna Zusman

Harris and Judi Guedalia  
Barry and Debra Eisenberg  
Philip and Donna Bendheim  
Billy and Karen Levine

In deep sorrow we announce the passing of  
our mother and grandmother

**DONNA SERUYA**

buried in Gibraltar on June 27, 1982

Solomon A. Seruya and family

**Belt Tekoa**  
mourns with  
Yael, Matan and the Family  
the death of

**ELI PRESSMAN** הלוי  
who has fallen in battle in Lebanon

One year after the death of our dear

**RAM NIRGAD** הלוי

a memorial service will be held on  
Wednesday, June 30, 1982 at 5 p.m. at the  
Savyon cemetery.

The Family

Deeply grieved  
at the loss of our beloved

**JOAV DAVIDS** הלוי  
who fell in battle in Lebanon.

Families: Ben-David Hamme De Haas Engelsman Goldstein Guterman Hamme Riek Levi Lowin Noach Shai Shmisha Silber Spitz Zanbar

8 Tamuz 5742 (June 27, 1982)



## HOME NEWS

### Arms booty in Lebanon could equip 5 brigades

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

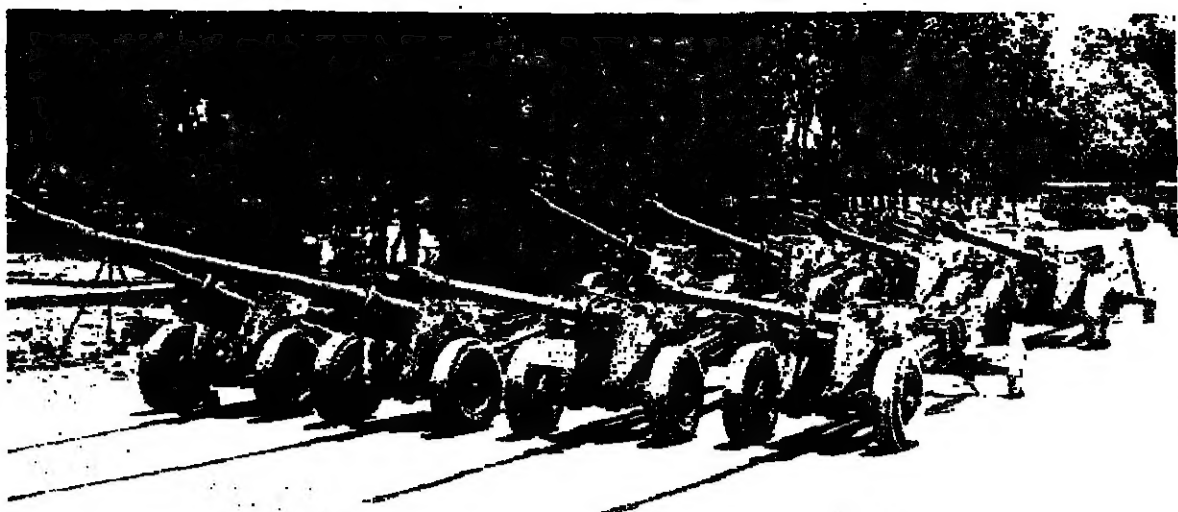
HAIFA. — Enough light arms and auxiliary weapons to equip five infantry brigades, discovered in PLO bunkers in Lebanon, have been brought to a base in the north. A large quantity of heavy weapons has also been delivered.

"A thousand men and 150 trucks are working daily to bring in more captured arms and ammunition, and I estimate it will take four to five weeks more to complete the job," the deputy commander of the Logistics Corps, Tat-Aluf Meir Nitzan, told the press at the base yesterday.

On exhibit at the base are selected weapons including light arms, tanks, Katyusha-firing trucks, guns and mortars of different calibres and uses, and rocket launchers. There are also uniforms, military optics including Starlight Scopes for night sighting and training simulators. Nitzan hoped the exhibit would shortly be opened to the public "so everybody can see why we fought in Lebanon."

The ordnance officer said the amount of equipment captured is far above anything the PLO could possibly have made use of "and we know fairly exactly what their manpower potential is." This estimate was backed up by the number of men of foreign nationalities who were captured, showing that the terrorists were approaching the bottom of the barrel.

He declined to speculate for what or for whose use the huge quantity of weapons might have been prepared. He noted only that manuals in English and other foreign languages had been found with the arms.



Some of the weapons captured from the terrorists during Operation Peace for Galilee on display.

Nitzan said the quantity of arms discovered so far is "ten times larger than the IDF had estimated" the PLO to possess and that it is too early to say how much more will be found, with new stores and dumps being discovered daily. He noted that the number and size of the dumps increased the further north one got from the border and he therefore expected that very substantial quantities may be stored in Beirut.

So far the weapons are predominantly of Russian or East Bloc manufacture, including North Korea, Vietnam and China, but also from Britain, U.S., Germany (including the latest G3 rifles and submachine guns), Belgium, France and Italy. There has not been a single Israeli-made weapon among the lot, he said.

Judging from the crates some of the weapons were packed in, they had been shipped directly as arms, while others had been marked as tractor parts or medical equipment and had been sent by devious routes. Some of the latest Russian-made Kalashnikov assault rifles already had numbers in Arabic on their sights.

In addition to the ordnance, a huge carpentry shop, a metal workshop and a PLO hospital had been found. "They had a big logistics back-up but their maintenance was poor," Nitzan said.

The dumps were discovered in villages, mainly near mosques, churches, schools and dispensaries so that the IDF would be unlikely to bombard them, "or if we did it could be displayed as propaganda of Israel harming civilians," Nitzan said.

In the cities most of the arms were found in cellars, up to four storeys underground, but also on the roofs of high-rise buildings. Sometimes the terrorists would force the residents to allow them to place dumps by their homes and in other cases "paid them rent of \$100 per room per month."

The IDF has given priority to clearing the dumps in dwellings, for the safety of the residents, and is separating the weapons from the ammunition and explosives, which are being safely stored away. The PLO stores had been indiscriminately packed, presenting great danger to their vicinity, Nitzan noted.

A number of Russian T-62 tanks, all in full working order and captured from the Syrians, are also on display. They are a selection of the 500 tanks captured from the Syrians and the PLO.

### Congressman chides media for missing Lebanese 'joy'

By HAIM SHAPIRO  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The news media have failed in not indicating the genuine joy of the Lebanese in being freed by Israel from the PLO, U.S. Representative Charles Wilson (Texas-Democrat) said yesterday.

Speaking at a press conference at Jerusalem's King Solomon Sheraton Hotel, Wilson stressed that he represents a rural district outside of Houston with "400,000 White Baptists and 100,000 Black Baptists."

There are fewer than 100 Jews in his district and he receives no Jewish support. In fact, he voted for the sale of AWACS radar planes to Saudi Arabia and supported the sale of F-15s to Jordan.

However, he said, he is astonished at the unanimity of feeling among the Lebanese, who are grateful that the Israel Defence Forces had come in and freed them from the PLO, even though this involved death and destruction.

Wilson added that he had expected such attitudes in "Haddadland" in South Lebanon, but was amazed to find in Sidon that



Charles Wilson

even those who had lost relatives and whose homes were destroyed are glad that the PLO is gone.

Wilson, who came to Israel for an academic symposium arranged some months ago, said that "at home," people do not understand the joy and relief of the Lebanese. He told the mainly American journalists at the news conference that they "have failed to make that clear."

### Jerusalemite held in killing of his wife and daughter

By ISRAEL AMRANI  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

A 32-year-old Jerusalemite was arrested yesterday on suspicion of killing his wife and daughter. The man stabbed himself as police approached him and was rushed to hospital in critical condition.

Dorit Hameiri, 25, and her four-year-old daughter, Avivit, were found dead in their apartment in the Neve Ya'acov quarter on Saturday night. According to police, the woman had been stabbed 19 times and had fallen dead in a corridor. Her daughter had been stabbed 12 times in her bed, probably while asleep.

The double murder followed a stormy argument between the man and his wife. According to neighbours, the couple, who were living separately pending a divorce, had quarrelled violently in the past.

According to Jerusalem Police spokesman Ziv Rotem, the police were called to the apartment Saturday night by a neighbour. Dorit had previously given her the key to the apartment and told her to unlock the door if she heard screams.

Police searched Jerusalem all Saturday night and early yesterday morning for the suspect. Just before noon yesterday, they received a report that he had been seen in a Jerusalem dog kennel. Rav-Pakad Avi Amsalem, who, coincidentally, is the man's neighbour, rushed to the kennel, where he found the man holding a bloody army bayonet. The police report. The man first threatened to stab Amsalem, then stabbed himself in the stomach. He was taken to the Hadassah Hospital on Mount Scopus, where he was reported in stable condition following an operation.

### Four to be honoured at Yad Vashem

Four Poles who risked their lives during World War II to rescue Jews from the Germans will be honoured at a tree-planting ceremony in the Avenue of the Righteous Gentiles at a ceremony at Yad Vashem in Jerusalem this morning at 11.00. They will also be awarded Yad Vashem's Righteous Gentiles Medalion, three of them posthumously.

Jadwiga Walkow-Szejnbaum was a nurse in a clinic in a town in Eastern Galicia when she offered "temporary shelter" to Dr. Henryk Zinger at the end of 1942, when the Jews in that area were being rounded up for transport to the death camps. Zinger's wife and sister-in-law soon joined him in the nurse's one-room flat and the three Jews hid there until June 1944. In 1947, Jadwiga married a Jew and the couple came to Eretz Yisrael, where their son was born.

On a bitter cold night after the German invasion of Poland, Emilia Maria Towarnicka-Gerson opened her door to find former classmate Shlomo Gerson standing there, shivering and starving. Her family hid Gerson for three months, but an informer found out about the "guest" and Emilia concealed him in a cart and took him to the Polish-Russian border.

After the war, the two met by chance on the street and married

some time later. The couple and their five children came to Israel in 1956, but Emilia Gerson died here after a long illness.

Stanislawa Demski worked unstintingly throughout the war to help the beleaguered Jews. She rescued nine Jews, including her future husband and their adopted son Laslaw, who had since settled in Israel. Her son Laslaw will accept today's tributes to his late mother.

Yehudit Engelhart of Givatayim will plant the tree honouring the late Father Jan Petrzyk of Lipniki, who hid her from 1941 until the end of the war. Petrzyk, who was a family friend, accepted responsibility for Yehudit, then 14, after her mother was killed by the Nazis.

### Citizens for Zahal Lights on for Zahal

Our sons, husbands, brothers, friends and relatives are putting their lives on the line for us, while a vocal minority is sowing demoralization.

### Stop Defaming Operation Peace For Galilee

Join us and demonstrate solidarity with Zahal. Drive with your lights on all day, every day this week.

### Lights on for Zahal

START TODAY!  
Petah Tikva Chapter of Citizens for Zahal  
P.O.B. 45, Petah Tikva 49 100

### Residents of Herzliya and the Sharon Area

Don't miss our fortnightly guide to services and shops, exclusively for the Sharon area.

Look for  
**SIMPLY SUPER**  
in tomorrow's issue of  
**THE JERUSALEM POST**

### Pilots to counter-boycott Greek ships

HAIFA. — The Marine Officers Union yesterday imposed a pilotage boycott on all Greek ships coming to Israel, in a reaction to the boycott on Israeli ships by stevedores in Piraeus.

The action will make it impossible for any Greek vessel to enter or leave Israeli ports, pending an answer to protests the union cabled yesterday to the International Transport Workers Federation (ITF) in London and the Greek seamen's unions.

Union secretary Shlomo Alimor told *The Jerusalem Post* that pilots will exempt the Greek passenger ships calling in Haifa. Last night, however, they intended to delay for several hours the sailing of the passenger ship Vergina to express their displeasure and "let the Israelis go on holiday to Rhodes know that they would do better vacationing in Nahariya."

Also, there were two Greek

freighters in Israeli ports yesterday that will be prevented from sailing. The Zim company operates one Greek-flag chartered ship, and other Israeli companies and agents also use Greek-flag vessels, all of which may be affected by the boycott.

The director of the Shippers' Council, Aryeh Mehoulal, told *The Post* that the Greek stevedores' boycott of Israeli ships will have more of a political than economic effect. Few Israeli flag vessels go to Piraeus and it is no problem to divert cargoes sent to Greece for trans-shipment to Italy. Israel buys a small quantity of foodstuffs in Greece, which can either be brought in foreign ships or purchased elsewhere, he said.

It was learned here last night that the stevedores in Melbourne, Australia have also declared their intention to boycott Israeli ships, but none are due there for several weeks.

### Resolution on Special Campaign

adopted by a special meeting of UJA and Keren Hayesod members of the Jewish Agency Assembly

The people of Israel have had to meet a heavy human cost for Operation Peace for Galilee — that they may be free of the threat of terrorism. Now they must assume new and heavier burdens of taxation in order to meet the financial cost of assuring that their brethren — our brethren — in Galilee will be able to live without fear.

It is therefore essential that the Jewish Agency increase substantially its participation in the funding of those welfare, education and health programmes which have been the traditional responsibilities of the Jewish Agency, for it is inconceivable that our brothers and sisters in Israel should, in addition, have to suffer a severe reduction in essential human services. In order to assure that these services — sharply curtailed in recent years — are not further reduced, for a people who have made such sacrifices for the security and continuity of the Jewish homeland, the Board of Governors of the Jewish Agency for Israel, meeting in Jerusalem on June 24, 1982, therefore calls upon the Jewish communities of the free world to add a special fund-raising commitment to the regular 1983 United Jewish Appeal and Keren Hayesod campaigns, these efforts to begin immediately.

The additional funds raised will be applied exclusively to the support of those increased welfare, education and health services for which the Jewish Agency will undertake responsibility.

Members of the Board of Governors and other participants in the special meetings of the Jewish Agency in Israel this week have shown by example their response at this hour. We call upon Jewish communities throughout the world to stand together with the people of Israel, and to share with them the burdens of freedom.

(Communicated)

Jerusalem, June 24, 1982.

### Christian news-media team to tour Lebanon

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Some 40 Christian news media leaders are due to visit Lebanon tomorrow in "Operation Cedars of Lebanon," organized by the International Christian Embassy in Jerusalem.

The visitors, who are coming from 11 countries, include five television crews. They are due to visit Nabatiye, Beaufort castle, Tyre, Sidon and Beirut. At least one U.S. representative is expected in the group.

A spokesman for the Christian Embassy said the purpose of the visit is to see how Christians around the world can help their co-religionists in Lebanon. They are due to meet with religious and political leaders and expect to make a direct satellite TV transmission abroad.

### Economic meeting called for Nahariya

TEL AVIV. — The Federation of Israeli Chambers of Commerce has decided to hold its meeting tomorrow in Nahariya.

The chairman of the federation, Avner Ben-Yakar, has called on all of Israel's economic organizations to follow his example and hold meetings in settlements in the North, as a salute to the settlers there.

Among the topics that will be discussed at the meeting will be the proposal of Minister of Finance Yoram Aridor to sign a "package deal" agreement, between the government and employers.

### Village to be built in Janner's memory

Jerusalem Post Correspondent

LONDON. — A village is to be established in Israel in memory of Lord (Barnett) Janner, the British Jewish leader who died last month shortly before his 90th birthday.

This was announced yesterday at a special meeting of the Board of Deputies of British Jews and the Zionist Federation.

At the meeting, MP Grenville Janner, Lord Janner's son, was re-elected president of the Board of Deputies for another three years.

### Alignment people push for stronger opposition

By SARAH HONIG  
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The Labour-Mapam Alignment is coming under strong internal pressure to launch a public campaign against the government's handling of the war in Lebanon, Labour sources said yesterday. According to the sources, the "low profile" that Labour has kept to date, may soon be replaced by a forceful public drive to put the party's view across.

There is no consensus, however, about the line the party should take. While the doves are adopting a fairly militant stance, the hawks are advising that the party should not "appear to be putting partisan interests over national ones."

One indication of how the winds are blowing in Labour has come from Knesset Member and former chief of staff Mordechai Gur, who has urged the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee to come out publicly against government policy. Gur outlined his thinking in a long radio interview yesterday, and other top party figures are also expected to be far more explicit in their criticism in the future.

In his radio interview, Gur said that "as long as the guns were firing we restrained our criticism and strived not to divide the nation. But now things are different. There is a cease-fire and things which were left unsaid can now be brought out into the open."

He explained how Labour had expressed its opposition to the extension of the campaign. "We supported the basic limited operation

in Lebanon, but when that was achieved we sent Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Rabin to Prime Minister Menachem Begin to express opposition to any further fighting," Gur said.

Party sources later said that Peres and Rabin agreed to go to the urging of their comrades but that they were personally opposed to the move.

Gur accused the government of "treating us as if we are mere barking hounds," when the Alignment warned against involvement with the Syrians and entry into Beirut. He emphasized, however, that the Alignment will "support the strongest and most forceful diplomatic struggle" to make sure that the losses Israel has suffered so far are not in vain. "We will give full support to the government's bargaining so that the maximum can be extracted from this campaign," he said.

It is thought in the Alignment that Gur's pronouncements could now open the floodgates to more of the same from other MKs.

Though the Alignment members of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee rejected Gur's proposal for a press conference to express their opposition to government policy, they adopted a resolution yesterday calling on the government to make sure that the cease-fire is strictly adhered to and that the IDF does not enter West Beirut. An incursion into the PLO strongholds in the Lebanese capital, they said, will "endanger the attainment of the war's goals."

### War leads theatre groups to bow out of festival

TEL AVIV. — The actors of the Heidelberg Theatre of Germany and the Trondheim Theatre of Norway cancelled their participation in the International Conference and Festival of Jewish Theatre, the organizers said yesterday.

The two theatres decided not to come because of the war in Lebanon, and Yiddish actor Yosef Buloff cancelled his appearance due to illness, they said.

The festival will be held as scheduled from July 3 to July 9 in spite of the cancellations, the organizers said.

Theatre groups from England and the U.S. called the festival organizers, the latter said, to urge them to hold the event despite the war.

It was learned that the Heidelberg Theatre manager, Dr. Peter Stolberg, intends to come to Israel in protest against the actors' decision not to come.

**Israel Lands Administration**  
Northern District

**Offer for Lease of 5 Plots for Construction of 5 Residential Units in Midgal Ha'emek**

**Tender No. NZ/82/24**

The Israel Lands Administration offers for lease 5 plots for the construction of 5 residential units.

Details of the plots and construction possibilities at the time of publication of this tender, are as follows:

Block	Parcel	Plot	Approx. area (sq.m.)	Floors	Total building area	Development costs (IS)	Minimum price (IS)	Deposit (IS)
17444	184	2	540	2	216	148,887	397,310	17,500
17444	184	4	530	2	212	148,648	387,084	17,500
17444	184	6	475	2	190	134,327	325,892	17,500
17444	58+184	13	510	2	204	142,187	350,217	17,500
17444	various	14	460	2	184	130,887	315,882	17,500

Details, sample contracts and bid forms are available at our Upper Nazareth district office, Industrial zone, between 8.30 a.m. and 12 noon during regular working days.  
Deadline for submitting tender bids is 12 noon on August 16, 1982. Bids not in the tenders postbox by the above time for any reason whatsoever, will not be considered.  
The Israel Lands Administration does not undertake to accept the highest bid or any bid whatsoever.

**Southern District**

**Offer for Lease of 2 Plots for Construction of 2 Residential Units in Omer**

**Tender No. BS/82/25**

The Israel Lands Administration offers for lease 2 plots for the construction of 2 residential units.

Details of the plots and construction possibilities at the time of publication of this tender, are as follows:

Municipal building plan	Plot	Approx. area (sq.m.)	Total building %	Development costs (IS)	Minimum price (IS)	Deposit (IS)
10/102/03/14	1494 A	608	40	227,250	539,946	25,000
10/102/03/14	1494 B	606	40	227,250	539,946	25,000

Details, sample contracts and bid forms are available at our Beersheba district office, Sderot Ben-Zvi (above Yehalom hall), between 8.30 a.m. and 12 noon during regular working days.  
Deadline for submitting tender bids is 12 noon on August 16, 1982. Bids not in the tenders postbox by the above time for any reason whatsoever, will not be considered.  
The Israel Lands Administration does not undertake to accept the highest bid or any bid whatsoever.

**Southern District**

**Offer for Lease of 3 Plots for Construction of 3 Commercial Centres in Beersheba**

The Israel Lands Administration offers for lease 3 plots for the construction of 3 commercial centres.

Details of the plots and construction possibilities at the time of publication of this notice, are as follows:

Tender no.	Block	Parcel portion	Plot	Approx. area (sq.m.)	Total building %	Minimum price (IS)	Deposit (IS)
BS/82/26	38012	2	1	682	120	3,600,480	180,000
BS/82/27	38015	3	500	495	120	1,831,520	80,000
BS/82/28	38003	38	—	121	120	1,228,500	60,000

Details, sample contracts and bid forms are available at our Beersheba district office, Sderot Ben-Zvi (Yehalom Hall), between 8.30 a.m. and 12 noon during regular working days.  
Deadline for submitting tender bids is 12 noon on August 16, 1982. Bids not in the tenders postbox by the above time for any reason whatsoever, will not be considered.  
The Israel Lands Administration does not undertake to accept the highest bid or any bid whatsoever.

**Tel Aviv and Central District**

**Offer for Lease of Plot for Construction of Apartment House in Yavneh**

**Tender No. TA/82/29**

The Israel Lands Administration invites bids for a development contract concerning the area, details of which at the time of publication of this tender, are as follows:

Block	Parcel	Plot	Approx. area (sq.m.)	Building units	Floors	Development costs (IS)	Minimum price (IS)	Deposit (IS)
4945	41	145	1350	10	3+roof floor	600,000	1,503,684	75,000

Details, sample contracts and bid forms are available at our Tel Aviv district office, 88 Derech Petah Tikva, 1st floor, between 8.30 a.m. and 12 noon during regular working days.  
Deadline for submitting tender bids is 12 noon on August 16, 1982. Bids not in the tenders postbox by the above time for any reason whatsoever, will not be considered.  
The Israel Lands Administration does not undertake to accept the highest bid or any bid whatsoever.

**Tel Aviv and Central District**

**Offer for Lease of 2 Plots for Construction of 2 Residential Units in Zahala**

**Tender no. TA/82/30**

The Israel Lands Administration invites bids for the lease of 2 plots for construction of 2 residential units.

Details of the plots and construction possibilities at the time of publication of this tender, are as follows:

Block	Parcel	Plot	Approx. area (sq.m.)	Floors	Total building %	Minimum price (IS)	Deposit (IS)
6335	242	5	820	2	40	1,587,500	75,000
6335	242	12	430	2	40	1,458,300	75,000

Details, sample contracts and bid forms are available at our Tel Aviv district office, 88 Derech Petah Tikva, 1st floor, between 8.30 a.m. and 12 noon during regular working days.  
Deadline for submitting tender bids is 12 noon on August 16, 1982. Bids not in the tenders postbox by the above time for any reason whatsoever, will not be considered.  
The Israel Lands Administration does not undertake to accept the highest bid or any bid whatsoever.



## Sports

## 2 World Cup tilts open 2nd round today

MADRID (UPI). — Austria and France kick off the second round of the World Cup soccer tournament at 5.15 p.m. (Israel time) at the Calderon Stadium here in a Group D match. The group is completed by the Soviet Union.

A second encounter, in Group A, will be between Belgium and Poland at Barcelona's Nou Camp stadium, at 9 o'clock, and will be broadcast live by Israel television. (Jordan television has announced live broadcasts of both matches.) Third team in this bracket is Northern Ireland.

The non-cooperation of the giants has turned the 12th World Cup soccer championship into a tragic comedy of errors.

Defending champion Argentina and two-time winner Italy should have been launching the second-round of the tournament today in Barcelona's magnificent 103,000-capacity Nou Camp stadium, according to early form charts. Unfortunately for the planners, neither Argentina nor Italy won their first round groups, creating a domino effect rippling right through the structure.

Shaky early performances by some of the favourites produced a lop-sided look to the three-team second-stage groups. The five former champions are bunched together into just two groups.

Argentina (1), Brazil (3) and Italy (2), who between them share more than 50 per cent of the World Cup titles, are matched in Group C in Barcelona, but in the smaller 45,000-capacity Sarrià Stadium.

A proposal to switch venues so that the giants of Group C could play at Nou Camp, was rejected when Belgium threatened to quit the tournament if a change was made.

The other powerful section is in Group B, where two-time winner West Germany faces 1966 champion, England, and host-nation Spain. But there is no problem over venues here with the trio scheduled to play in Madrid's 96,000-capacity Santiago Bernabeu Stadium, also the site of the July 11 final.

## New rules for top tennis tournaments favour champs

WIMBLEDON (AP). — Bjorn Borg can play at Wimbledon next year, no matter how many tournaments he plays during the year, the Men's International Professional Tennis Council (MIPTC) decided on Saturday.

A new format was announced for the 1983 Grand Prix Calendar. Most men will have to play at least 12 Grand Prix events if they want to enter Wimbledon and the French, U.S. and Australian opens.

But each of the four big tournaments will be allowed to grant a wild card to any player who has won their singles titles in the last three years. Borg was Wimbledon champion five years running, from 1976 to 1980.

This year's rules specified that anyone not playing in at least 10 Grand Prix events would have to play through the qualifying competition at Wimbledon and the other big tournaments.

Borg had planned a quiet year with months of rest. He refused to play in the Wimbledon qualifying competition and was barred from the tournament itself.

Meanwhile, the world's top tennis players have an exhausting week in prospect as harassed officials try to complete the Wimbledon championships on time after one of the most rain-hit starts on record.

In a normal championship, the men's singles would be down to the last 16 by now and the women's event to the last eight. But so far only 15 men have reached the last 32 and seven women are into the last 16. Only two men's doubles have been played and there has been no play in the women's doubles and the mixed doubles.

By Saturday the start of play, set at 2 p.m. since 1920, had been brought forward to noon, only the seventh time this has happened, and committee member Bimby Holt was admitting that some events might have to be cancelled and the tournament extended into a third week.

## Arafat awaits IDF strike on W. Beirut

By JULIE FLINT

BEIRUT (UPI). — Yasser Arafat said yesterday he expects Israel to attack the Palestine Liberation Organization in Moslem West Beirut in the next week, in spite of a cease-fire that U.S. envoy Philip Habib said is final.

In a 2-hour interview with UPI, Arafat said Washington and Jerusalem still demand complete Palestinian surrender. He said Israel will not withdraw its troops from Lebanon after the war.

"They will not withdraw, at least from the south," he said. "Remember that. To bring the bear to the field is easy, but to kick him out is not so easy."

Arafat, 53, chairman of the PLO since 1965, spoke in a small underground office in the heart of a heavily bombed Palestinian area near Sabra refugee camp. He was relaxed and cheerful, laughing often and exuding vitality, and refused to contemplate a fatal blow to his organization in Beirut.

"I am not the first leader to be surrounded. Churchill was blockaded in Britain, Stalin in Moscow. The Nazi arrived to the gates of Moscow, many places have been blockaded," he said.

Arafat said Washington and Jerusalem offered him nothing but total surrender and departure from Lebanon. "They know I have already rejected this," he said. "Totally. They don't know the Palestinian mentality. I will die in my headquarters. We will fight in every street, every place."

## Space shuttle blasts off for fourth flight

CAPE CANAVERAL, Florida (UPI). — The space shuttle Columbia blasted into space on Sunday on its final orbital test flight and first secret military mission. With astronauts Thomas "Ker" Mattingly and Henry W. Hartsfield at the controls, Columbia took off on time at 3 p.m. GMT.

Earlier, ground crews had raced against time to repair damage to insulating tiles on the shuttle's surface, following a hailstorm late Saturday afternoon.

Mattingly and Hartsfield were described by their doctor as being "in excellent spirits and excellent health" following rehearsals for their 7-day orbital flight.

Columbia is carrying its first military cargo.

The shuttle is scheduled to land on July 4 — America's Independence Day — at Edwards Air Force Base in the California desert. President Reagan is expected to be among the onlookers.

Successful completion of the mission will clear the way for the launching of two commercial communications satellites from the shuttle's cargo bay during its next flight.

## Owen favoured to lead British SDP

LONDON (AP). — David Owen, the former Labourite foreign secretary, will win this week's ballot for leader of the fledgling Social Democratic Party, an opinion poll predicted yesterday.

The survey by the Observer newspaper and national opinion polls said Owen is "decisively" ahead of the only other contestant, Roy Jenkins, former chancellor of the exchequer and former president of the European Common Market Commission.

## 'Pravda': Haig scapegoat for Reagan

MOSCOW. — Pravda said yesterday that Alexander Haig was made a scapegoat for a "crisis" in U.S. foreign policy and President Ronald Reagan's falling popularity.

In the Soviet news media's first appraisal of Haig's resignation as secretary of state, the Communist party newspaper said Haig remained essentially an advocate of power politics, who inconsistently opposed "ultra-rightists" prodding the Reagan administration toward extremist positions.

The newspaper derided U.S. analysts who described Haig as a moderate and an experienced professional after he quit "when only recently the same analysts said the U.S. had two defence secretaries and no secretary of state."

More than anything else, Haig's resignation reflects the crisis of the Reagan administration's foreign policy, Pravda said. Problem areas listed in the article included Western European reactions to events in Lebanon.

"In such circumstances, President Reagan, who according to recent opinion polls has been rapidly losing points, wanted a scapegoat," Pravda said. "The U.S. secretary of state, who is heavily responsible for

charting foreign policy, has been made one."

Pravda said events proved militant anti-Sovietism cannot be combined with a realistic foreign-policy course.

"Possibly this was understood at the end partially by Haig himself," Pravda said. "But it was too late. He was taken from the political arena by the same forces whom he supported."

In Cairo, Butros Ghali, Egyptian minister of state for foreign affairs, said Egypt hopes President Reagan's choice of George Shultz "will have a positive effect on the situation (in Lebanon) in the sense of a balanced American stance to counter Israeli aggression."

But Egyptian newspapers said Haig's surprise resignation and Reagan's decision to name Shultz as his successor does not signal a change in U.S. policy.

"Hours after the resignation," wrote Al-Akhar, it became clear that the situation has not changed, that America is still surrendering to Israel and President Reagan is in a coma over the (Lebanese) situation."

Kuwait welcomed the choice of George Shultz as new U.S. secretary of state and expressed

## Israel is 3rd superpower, says U.S. Mideast expert

CAIRO (UPI). — Israel could now wipe out the Palestinians in Lebanon if it wished, because it has become the third military superpower after the U.S. and the Soviet Union, Dean Brown, director of the U.S. Middle East Institute in Washington, said.

In an interview published yesterday in the Egyptian weekly magazine *Rose el-Yousef*, Brown said that U.S. President Ronald Reagan "does not know much about the Middle East and maybe he does not want to." He said former secretary of state Alexander Haig, "who leans heavily toward the Israelis," has been the architect of U.S. foreign policy in the region.

Brown described the current role of presidential envoy Philip Habib in the area as that of "messenger" between Jerusalem, Damascus and Beirut.

Asked whether Israel could now destroy the Palestinians in Lebanon, Brown said, "Yes, if Israel wanted to. Israel is now the third military superpower after America and the Soviet Union. It has 3,400 tanks — more than France, Italy and Germany have together...plus 900 Soviet-made tanks it seized from the Arabs."

"Its air force superiority is evident and its superiority in the electronics (industry) is undisputed."

## Arms-curb talks begin tomorrow

MOSCOW (AP). — Soviet diplomats preparing to meet with U.S. officials for arms reduction talks in Geneva tomorrow are expected to try to maintain their country's superiority in land-based strategic missiles as a way to counter what they perceive as America's superiority in air and sea-based weapons.

Moscow says it is serious about the strategic arms reduction talks, dubbed START. Observers here believe pressing economic problems and lagging technological development have put Moscow in a bargaining mood.

President Reagan changed the name of the talks from SALT to START, substituting "Reduction" for "Limitation" to emphasize his aim of actually reducing the number of long-range nuclear weapons each side has rather than setting ceilings, as SALT did.

Arriving on Sunday for the talks,

chief Soviet negotiator Viktor Karpov said that the Soviet Union was also in favour of the reduction of strategic weapons.

But the positions of the two sides are far apart. President Reagan in May called for a reduction of at least a third in the number of warheads each side has, which would mean cuts for both from about 7,500 to 5,000. Reagan would like to see at least half of the missiles that carry the warheads based in submarines, which are less visible and less vulnerable to attack. (More than two thirds of U.S. warheads are already at sea compared with only a quarter of Soviet warheads.)

The Soviet Union has rejected these proposals, saying they are "lopsided" and require greater sacrifices on their part. They have suggested a freeze at present levels, but the U.S. has said that would only maintain Soviet superiority.

## Stay home, British commuters advised

LONDON (UPI). — British commuters facing five-hour traffic jams braced yesterday for a nationwide train strike that is posing Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher a stiff challenge at home only a week after military victory.

London Transport advised its one-million-daily subway riders to stay home rather than add to the traffic congestion caused by 1.4 million delayed train commuters.

Cecil Parkinson, chairman of Thatcher's Conservative Party, bitterly attacked the rail-workers union and called on Britain to unite as

it had against Argentina in the Falkland Islands war, which ended barely a week ago.

British Rail began cancelling trains for riders going to Glasgow, Liverpool and other cities at 2 p.m. yesterday, anticipating the strike called for midnight by the National Union of Railwaymen (NUR).

British Rail chairman Sir Peter Parker predicted that the disruption could go on for three months.

There were signs that the NUR faced dissension in its ranks, as some branches refused to obey the strike order and planned to report for work as usual today.

## Solidarity activists protest in Poznan

POZNAN, Poland (UPI). — Solidarity union supporters yesterday jeered at official ceremonies marking the 26th anniversary of Poznan's bloody "bread and freedom" riots and staged a brief protest to declare "Solidarity will never perish."

The authorities issued an appeal to area residents against mass unofficial counter-demonstrations planned for today by the opposition.

About 3,000 people, huddled under umbrellas in a driving rain, attended the official noon wreath-laying ceremony at the huge monument to the scores of workers killed in the June 28, 1956 riots.

After officials departed, about 1,000 people remained at the monument, singing the national anthem and religious hymns and chanting "Long live Solidarity" and "Release Lech Walesa."

## UK newsmen blast Falklands censor

LONDON (AP). — Three British correspondents on Saturday attacked the "rigid, unreasonable and stupid" censorship imposed by the Defence Ministry during the campaign in the South Atlantic.

They had sailed with the British task force nearly 12 weeks ago shortly after Argentina invaded the Falkland Islands.

Michael Nicholson, veteran correspondent of Independent Television News, told the Press Association, the domestic news agency, that "the worst example" was when the cease-fire came (on June 20).

Nicholson said he was ready to give the news on ITN's main news bulletin, "but the censor said nothing must be transmitted which jeopardized the negotiations, which was the last thing we wanted to do. His instruction was given after a signal from London, which two days later he admitted he had misinterpreted! He prevented news of the cease-fire from reaching thousands of task force relatives until the following day."

## Experts: no need for more Iraqi petroleum

HOUSTON (UPI). — An oil industry publication says Iraq's plan to increase its oil production by at least two million barrels per day by the mid-1980s may be postponed indefinitely, largely because of the nation's war with Iran.

In its June 28 issue, *Petroleum International* said Iraq's programme was a "victim both of the costly and disastrous military confrontation with Iran and of leaner world oil demand."

PII said the 20-month war with Iran had forced Iraq to put its entire economy on an austerity level.

(Advertising Section)

## THE INSIDE TRACK

A perceptive guide to shopping and services in Jerusalem

## CONGRATS PRINCESS DI AND CHAS. WE KNEW YOU HAD IT IN YER

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## SUMMER IS COMING IN

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## THE INSIDE TRACK

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# Bold Man Out

## The Secretary Jumps Ship — Or Is Pushed

AT 3 P.M. on Friday, President Reagan walked into the White House press room and announced, without further explanation, that he was changing Secretaries of State.

Ninety minutes later, as the President flew off to his Camp David retreat, Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. appeared in the State Department auditorium and read a cryptic letter of resignation. Mr. Haig, like Mr. Reagan, refused to answer questions, leaving the country and the world to guess at what the abrupt change might portend for the conduct of the world's most powerful — and frequently erratic — nation.

As successor, Mr. Reagan appointed George P. Shultz, a Cabinet member in the Nixon Administration and international business executive. Mr. Shultz, who seemed as surprised as anybody by the assignment, flew in from London to see Mr. Reagan.

Mr. Haig, in his letter, suggested that all was not well in Administration foreign policy, but he cast little light on how his departure might affect delicate efforts to end Israel's war in Lebanon, or on stormy relations with Western Europe, the Soviet Union, China and much of Latin America.

When he took the job, Mr. Haig wrote Mr. Reagan, "we agreed that consistency, clarity and steadiness of purpose were essential to success." But he added, "In recent months, it has become clear to me that the foreign policy on which we embarked together was shifting from that careful course."

The announcement, despite Mr. Haig's personality and policy clashes with White House aides and Cabinet colleagues, surprised officials inured to his repeated threats to resign. The change set off shock waves as foreign leaders, especially in the Middle East, assessed the consequences. Israel said it "deeply regretted" the loss of "a faithful friend." Mr. Haig, in one of last acts as Secretary, ordered a veto early yesterday in the United Nations Security Council. The action blocked a French proposal, supported by the rest of the Council, that would have ordered Israel to pull back from Beirut and have permitted the P.L.O. to return to Beirut.

trapped Palestinians to leave with their weapons.

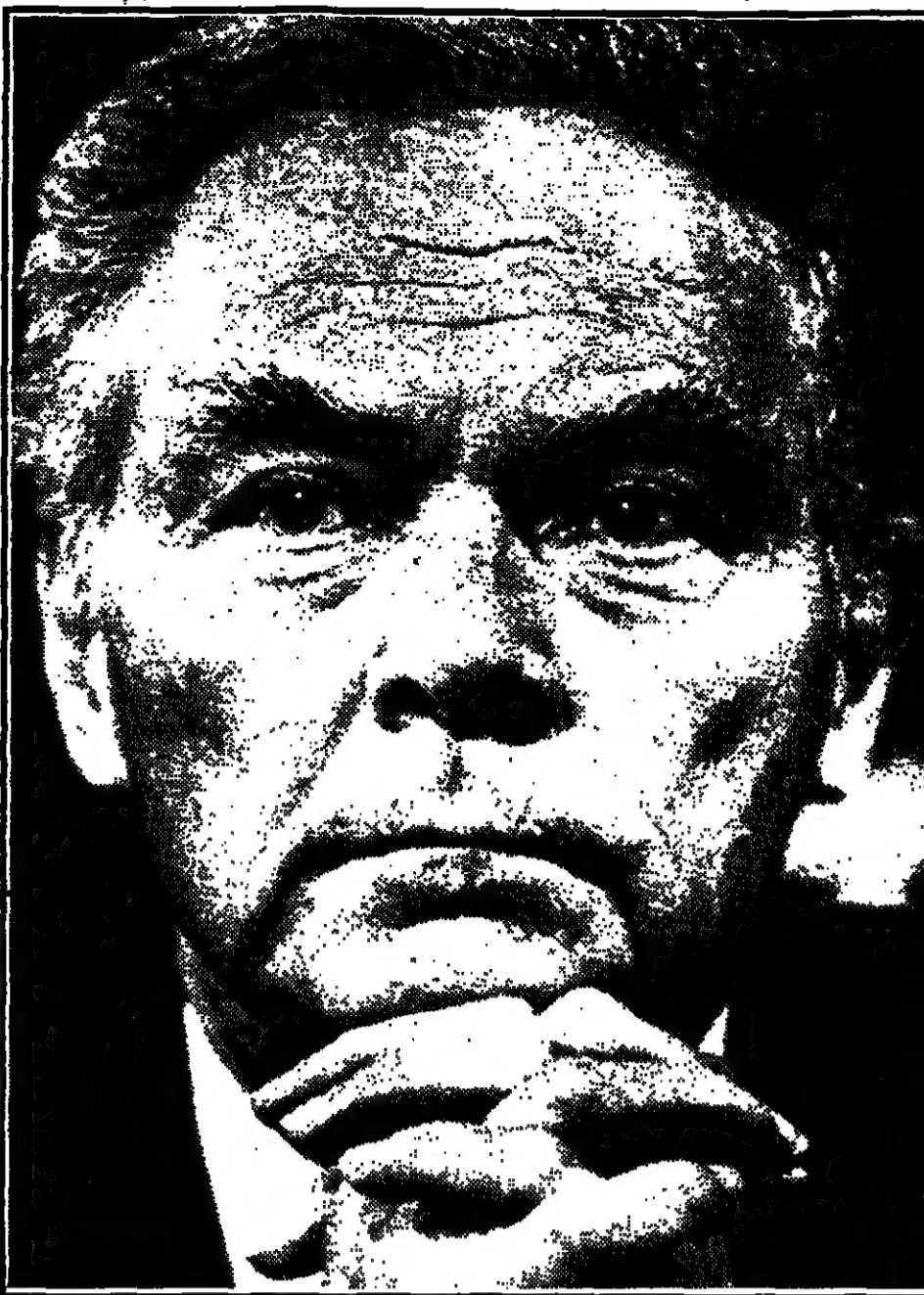
Mr. Shultz has been president of Bechtel Corporation, which has extensive interests in Arab countries. A respected former Secretary of Treasury, budget director and Secretary of Labor, he is known as a "team player" who loyally executed policies, including some he initially opposed.

In 17 tumultuous months in Foggy Bottom, Mr. Haig became a lightning rod for controversy. Two weeks ago, he apparently outmaneuvered White House aides who wanted to publicly condemn Israel's war in Lebanon. At about the same time, he was overruled on an important National Security Council decision — banning foreign subsidiaries of American companies from helping to build a Soviet natural gas pipeline. The ban, linked to Soviet pressure on Poland, was assailed by Western Europeans as interference with sovereign governments, a blow to their economies, a move to pre-empt business for American coal, and an obstacle to East-West relations. Critics saw contradiction in Mr. Haig's action (opposed by Mr. Haig) that had lifted restrictions on Soviet grain sales.

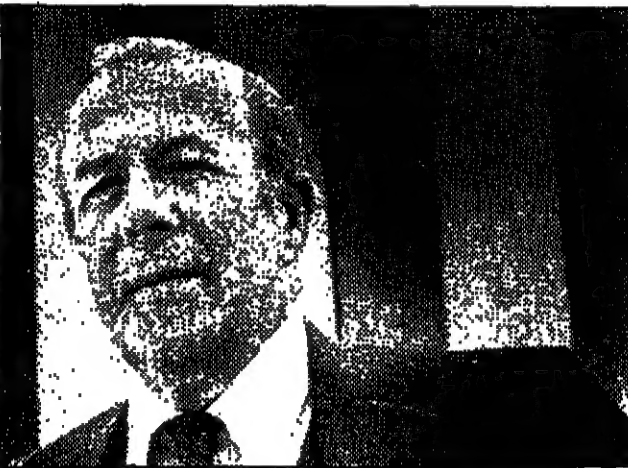
Europeans rated Mr. Haig, a former NATO supreme commander, as a knowledgeable ally. China's leaders relied on him to block conservative efforts to build up Taiwan. On Central America, he was chief architect of controversial hard-line policies involving military aid to El Salvador.

He clashed openly with Jeane Kirkpatrick, the chief delegate to the United Nations, over support for Britain against Argentina in the Falkland Islands. His feuds with Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger were well-documented. But White House aides said a dispute with William P. Clark, a former Haig aide who became national security adviser, led to the resignation. Mr. Clark, acting for the President, recently bypassed Mr. Haig in dealing with Arab ambassadors on the Lebanon war.

Administration critics — Democrats and Republican conservatives — were expected to use the Shultz confirmation hearings as a convenient election-year debating forum. But Senator Howard H. Baker Jr., the Republican leader, suggested things may not change all that much. "The continuity of foreign policy," he said, "resides more with the President than the Secretary of State."



Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. (top); George P. Shultz



Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. (top); George P. Shultz

## With Haig, A Lot of Crisis Management Is Internal

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN

WASHINGTON  
GEORGE P. Shultz's first task upon confirmation as Secretary of State seems obvious: to give direction and cohesiveness to the Reagan Administration's management of foreign policy. For the past 17 months, the Administration has frequently lacked a concerted approach, not only in formulating actual policy but in deciding who should be directing it.

Alexander M. Haig Jr., who spent enormous energy trying to become the "vicar" of international affairs, never achieved that status. He leaves office without negotiating a major treaty or settlement and at a time of crisis for United States relations with the Arabs and Israelis, the Soviet Union, the Western allies and even Latin American neighbors.

While Mr. Haig refused to give specific reasons for his resignation, differences in ideology and temperament figured in his decision. Many in the White House, hoping the former NATO commander would become a team player, were disappointed from Inauguration Day, when the new Secretary of State presented the new President with a memo seeking prime authority over foreign affairs. He was turned down. Then three months later, when the President was shot and the Vice President was en route to Washington, Mr. Haig suddenly appeared before the television cameras at the White House and announced that he "was in control."

In fact, in foreign policy matters, the Administration has seemed to speak with different voices and with different messages. Ideological tensions were apparent even in such matters as choosing the State Department's senior staff. Mr. Haig's inclination was to hire officials with experience in the Foreign Service and with whom he had worked when he was Henry A. Kissinger's deputy on the National Security Council staff. But to hire "his" men, Mr. Haig had in effect to negotiate not only with conservatives on the White House staff but with Senator Jesse Helms, Republican of North Carolina and the leading conservative on the Foreign Relations Committee. Mr. Haig succeeded on the whole in getting his choices approved, but at a considerable cost in time and personal exasperation.

On specific issues, Mr. Haig found himself in the uncomfortable position of trying both to enunciate a policy and to muzzle others from saying something different.

Mr. Haig made it clear from the outset that his highest priority was unity among the Western allies. To achieve this, he believed that the United States had to be sensitive to European and Japanese concerns and not to press them to take steps that were politically impractical for them.

### Quarrels With Weinberger

The more confrontational approach of Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger caused Mr. Haig to complain loudly in private and occasionally in public almost from the first week of the Administration. The Defense Secretary, for instance, repeatedly criticized the Japanese for not spending enough on defense. Mr. Haig felt this kind of approach only antagonized the Japanese and made it more difficult to work out quiet agreements on trade and defense. Mr. Weinberger advocated going ahead with a neutron bomb in Europe, even though Mr. Haig knew this would cause political problems for the allies.

Richard V. Allen, the Administration's first national security adviser, publicly attacked the West Europeans for "pacifist" trends. Mr. Haig said it was important to take seriously the European concern about nuclear war and to recognize that most West European countries were meeting their military obligations to the alliance. Direct attacks on allies, he felt, only undermined unity and played into the hands of the Soviet Union.

If there was a "final straw" in Mr. Haig's list of grievances, it was over the Middle East. The Secretary of State felt it was important to maintain close relations with Israel, not only because he believed that it was the politically correct course, but because he felt it made little sense to force a confrontation with the Israelis, who had enough military equipment to act as they pleased.

Yet in the ongoing Lebanese crisis, the Administration's signals have been contradictory. At first, Mr. Reagan called for an immediate and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon. Then, Mr. Haig called for the withdrawal of Syrian as well as Israeli forces. Prime Minister Menachem Begin was warned that if Israel escalated the fighting in Beirut, he might not be invited to see Mr. Reagan. Mr. Weinberger called for a public rebuke of Israel. Then Mr. Reagan was conciliatory to Mr. Begin when they met last Monday.

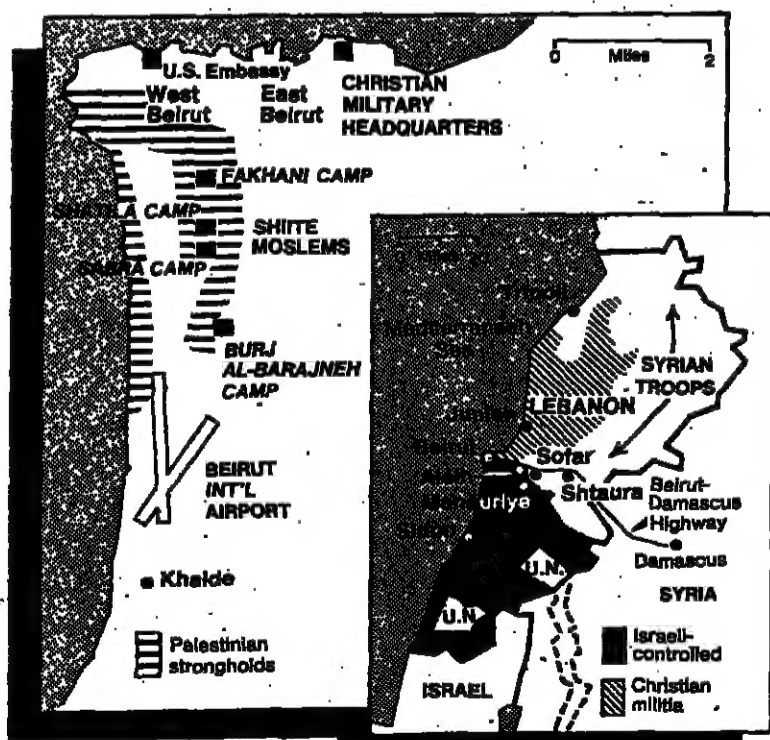
Mr. Haig decided that American policy should be directed toward getting the Palestine Liberation Organization out of West Beirut while at the same time urging restraint on the part of the Israelis. To do this, he felt it was important not to give the P.L.O. the impression that Washington would restrain the Israelis from entering Beirut. But William P. Clark, Mr. Allen's successor as national security adviser and former deputy to Mr. Haig, told the Saudis that in fact Washington would achieve an Israeli pullback from Beirut. This presumably encouraged the Palestinian guerrillas to resist.

This led Mr. Haig to complain about Mr. Clark getting in the way of an effective running of foreign policy. He also was concerned about any commitments made to the Saudis by Vice President Bush and Mr. Weinberger when they went to Riyadh to meet with the new King Fahd. (In Beirut yesterday, a senior Lebanese Government official confirmed that the Reagan Administration had been negotiating for a settlement in Lebanon along "at least two tracks" — one through special envoy Philip C. Habib, the other through Saudi Arabia.)

By the end of the week, Mr. Haig, in his last hours as Secretary of State, had succeeded in getting another cease-fire and hoped he could leave office with one substantial achievement.

## Israelis Inflicted Heavy Casualties in Last Week's Fighting

# The P.L.O. in Lebanon May Be Finished, but Its Goals Survive



By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

BEIRUT, LEBANON  
THREE weeks after the Israeli invasion, events in Lebanon were focused on a single simple question: How would the Palestine Liberation Organization lose?

With the Palestinians trapped by the Israelis in 10 square miles of western Beirut and with Israeli air strikes and artillery bombardment tightening the noose, it seemed likely that the P.L.O. was finished, at least for now, as an independent Palestinian guerrilla organization with its own semi-sovereign base of operations in Lebanon. Its isolation was heightened late last week as Israeli armor cut the Palestinians' links to Damascus and, in fighting at Sfar, Aleh, Mansuriye and Shitara, pushed Syrian forces back toward their frontier.

In Beirut, before Israel agreed to another cease-fire Friday, Palestinian quarters in the western part of the capital and refugee camps on its southern outskirts suffered their worst pounding since the June 6 invasion.

Whatever the fate of the present Palestine Liberation Organization leadership, its long-held objective of an independent Palestinian state will not disappear. Many Palestinians believe the Israeli invasion was designed to destroy the P.L.O. and with it the idea of Palestinian independence. But the concept of a Palestinian state existed long before the liberation organization was founded in 1964, and it will be pursued by whatever Palestinian structure emerges from Lebanon, as well as by the surrounding Arab states.

What the P.L.O. looks like after the smoke clears is likely to depend on how it loses — in a hail of gunfire or, as most observers believe more likely, by way of an "honorable exit" from west Beirut that might mean a transformation into new kinds of Palestinian resistance.

Last week's political and military initiatives were largely directed at shaping answers to these questions. A Council of National Salvation under Lebanon's President Elias Sarkis tried in vain to "save Beirut" by persuading the liberation organization to reduce its presence sufficiently to satisfy the Israelis. Jerusalem continued to insist that the Palestinian leaders and armed forces leave Lebanon. In a rare display of candor, Walid Jumblat, the Druse leader and the P.L.O.'s main Lebanese political protector, said, "I personally think the P.L.O. is finished. The P.L.O. is not facing realities," he added. "They must decide on general suicide or surrender once and for all."

Mr. Jumblat said there was a major split in the guerrilla organization between radicals led by Dr. George Habash, who has said he would turn west Beirut into "a new Stalingrad" if the Israelis attacked, and Yasir Arafat's moderates, who were looking for a negotiated settlement, however tenuous. If the Palestinians stood and fought, the battle could so destroy western Beirut that its Moslem population would turn against them with a vengeance.

### Guerrillas May Move to Syria

Thus the P.L.O. has been left to pick among bad choices. Many observers believe the Palestinians' main military force may move to Syria, under the tight grip of President Hafez al-Assad. The Palestine Liberation Army now has 15,000 men in Syria and 250,000 Palestinians live

there. Although Mr. Arafat and Mr. Assad despise each other, the guerrilla chief may have no choice but to become Syria's guest and hope for a change in regime. Mr. Assad, by all indications, cares little about the Palestinians, but he could use them as a pawn in Middle East power struggles. Having the Palestinian leadership in Damascus could be a two-edged sword. Not only might it expose the Syrians to retaliation from Israel for Palestinian attacks, but the Palestinians could be a destabilizing factor in Syria's delicate internal politics. However, Mr. Assad has had a great deal of experience in ruthlessly controlling the Palestinians already under his thumb.

Other reports suggested Mr. Arafat would try to set up shop in Saudi Arabia or even Egypt. Palestinian radicals can no doubt find a haven in Libya or Iran.

Since Mr. Arafat came to dominate the guerrilla movement in 1969, he has managed through the force of his personality and arms to keep its eight disparate constituent groups under one umbrella. If the radicals and moderates moved to different capitals, holding them together would be difficult.

Mr. Arafat's role as chairman of the board will depend heavily on how he comes through the Lebanon fighting. If the leaders in Beirut are killed or captured, one of four executive council members outside might take over. Farouk Kaddoumi and Ahmed Sidki Djani are at the United Nations; Abdel Mohsen Abu Maizer and Khaled al-Fahoum, speaker of the Palestine National Council, are based in Damascus. But Mr. Arafat should not be written off. He is the great survivor of Arab politics.

Many Lebanese officials are convinced, as Mr. Jumblat put it, that the "P.L.O. will go terrorist" once it loses Lebanon. Its future political orientation will depend partly on the conclusions the Palestinians draw about their friends. Palestinian officials say freely that their Lebanese leftist allies have been a profound disappointment, as have the Russians and the "radical" Arab regimes. The most help, they say, has come from conservative Saudi Arabia. For Mr. Arafat, who had achieved worldwide recognition for the P.L.O., the lack of support has undoubtedly confirmed an old Arabic proverb: "Fear your enemy once and your friend a thousand times."

War creating tensions for the Israelis

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Trade battles complicate the policy crisis

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Roundtable: Insanity pleas and Hinckley

4



People with people in mind.



bank leumi בנק לאומי



# The World

In Summary

## All Else Failing, Argentina Turns To Politicians

The Argentine military used to defend its hold on power by recalling civilian politicians' bickering and legacy of instability. In the aftermath of the Falkland debacle, the tables have turned. Last week, the armed forces were squabbling because of the army's choice of another general as President and the civilian parties were blaming the military for bringing Argentina to the point of collapse.

"No one really knows who is in charge of the country," said Oscar Alende, head of the left-of-center Intransigent Party, after the army — designated retired Maj. Gen. Reynaldo Bignone as the country's fourth military President in six years.

In a tacit admission of weakness, General Bignone met with the leaders of 14 civilian parties and promised to lift on Thursday — his inauguration day — a ban on party politics imposed when the armed forces seized power in 1976.

He also repeated a pledge by the junta of service chiefs to restore democracy "in the first months of 1984." He promised to hold elections before March 1984, the scheduled end of his presidential term.

In another compromise, General Bignone, an advocate of the free-market policies pursued by his military predecessors, promised to pursue a mixed philosophical approach including more government intervention. Even before the Falkland invasion, Argentina was in economic straits. Factories were operating at half capacity, growth last year was negative and inflation was running at more than 100 percent.

## Speaking to the Point

Margaret Thatcher certainly has a way of slicing through rhetoric. Fresh from conducting Britain's successful rout of Argentine invaders in the Falklands, she told the United Nations session on disarmament last week that "wars are caused not by armaments but by the ambitions of aggressors."

The British Prime Minister departed from the stock phrases of other speakers by asserting that nuclear weapons had not brought the threat of war closer but had in fact "kept the peace between East and West" for 37 years.

The Argentines, who have still refused to sign a cease-fire in the Falklands, boycotted her speech. But scores of other diplomats applauded



Maj. Gen. Reynaldo Bignone

it, in the words of an African delegate, as "original, realistic [and] pragmatic."

Mrs. Thatcher then flew to Washington and met with President Reagan. Although an Administration official had predicted the President would again urge a political solution for the Falklands, the British leader told reporters there was "no sovereignty issue to discuss."

## The Pyrenees Loom Large

The Falkland war and fragile domestic politics have further complicated post-Franco Spain's slow integration into the rest of Europe.

Last week in Madrid, it was hard to tell that Spain had just become NATO's 16th member and was scheduled to join the European Common Market in 1984. First, the Government of Prime Minister Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo put off for the second time in two months its promised end to a land blockade of Gibraltar, the colony of a new ally, Britain. Then came a visit by François Mitterrand, President of another ally, that was

characterized by open bickering about Basque terrorism and European economic competition.

The French leader, alluding to the bitter budget disputes among the present 10 members of the Common Market, remarked in a dinner toast that "it will serve nothing to construct new ties when the old ones cannot only weaken but even break."

Spain has charged the French with holding up its admission to block competition from cheaper Spanish agricultural products.

King Juan Carlos raised another dispute in another toast at the Mitterrand dinner, saying that "the Europe of liberty" should not be a haven to Basque terrorists. French governments have refused to extradite Basque guerrillas lest that inflame France's own Basque population.

On the issue of Gibraltar, Spanish diplomats said they feared that the Falkland victory had heightened British nationalism and would prejudice any negotiations on the fate of the Mediterranean colony.

The center-right Madrid Government, which gave Argentina diplomatic support in the crisis, is being kept in power now at the sufferance of the Socialists and is ill-equipped to compromise on an issue seen by many Spaniards as one of national honor.

## Not So Easy To Disengage

Iraqi President Saddam Hussein said his forces would end their 21-month occupation of Iran this week "to remove an important pretext being used by the notorious regime in Teheran to continue the war." But Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini had other pretexts. "Mr. Hussein is telling the truth," the Iranian leader said, "this is only one of our conditions." He cited Iran's demands for punishment of the aggressor and for payment of reparations for "immeasurable damage." Other Iranian officials have suggested \$150 billion would be about right. "If you don't compensate us, we will compensate ourselves by force," the Ayatollah added.

Iranian artillery shelled the Iraqi town of Basra last week, but Iran's handful of Arab friends — Syria, Libya and Algeria — have reportedly sent word that enough is enough, urging Iranian troops to stay on their side of the Shatt al Arab waterway.

Mr. Hussein's hold on power in Baghdad had seemed to be slipping as the dimensions of defeat became known. But Western and Arab diplomats said Israel's invasion of Lebanon may have helped him stay on top. With so many unknowns in the region, they explained, Iraq's conservative neighbors in the Persian Gulf preferred to see stability maintained in Baghdad. Iranian volunteers have been sent to Damascus and have been spotted fighting alongside Syrian soldiers in Lebanon.

Ayatollah Khomeini predicted that an Iranian victory would bring about an Islamic state in Iraq. "If our two nations unite," he said, "the smaller nations of the region will then join us." That is exactly what Gulf Arab rulers have feared as they provided Iraq with \$29 billion to fight Iran.

## The Better to Battle Hanoi

It was all hugs and smiles last week as three unlikely allies formed a Cambodian government-in-exile to fight a common foe, Vietnam.

The Coalition of Democratic Kampuchea comprises the factions of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who was overthrown in 1970; his former Prime Minister, Son Sann, an anti-Communist who broke with him in 1967; and the Khmer Rouge, which, during its reign of terror from 1975 to 1978, persecuted both men and killed members of their families.

The alliance, the result of nine months of delicate talks, has something for everybody. The Khmer Rouge, reviled for its barbarous rule in which an estimated three million Cambodians died, wants to be respectable — and keep its seat in the United Nations. It has dropped its Communist organization, moved its infamous leader, Pol Pot, into the background, and called for parliamentary government and free elections.

The coalition gives Prince Sihanouk and Son Sann some military muscle in the form of Pol Pot's 30,000 insurgents. Although they are no match for Hanoi's occupation force of 200,000, Prince Sihanouk hopes guerrilla harassment will bring the Hanoi-backed regime to the negotiating table. Until recently, he had said the Cambodian people preferred the current rulers, in power for the last three years, to Pol Pot.

The United States called the coalition a welcome development.

Milt Freudenheim,  
Barbara Slavin and  
Katherine J. Roberts

## Resignations in Washington, Beirut May Dim Hopes for Political Solution

# Some Israelis Fear Their Vietnam Is Lebanon

By DAVID K. SHIPLER

JERUSALEM — The main question being debated within the Israeli Government last week was whether to move militarily against the Palestine Liberation Organization in Beirut and suffer the wrath of the United States, or to maintain the siege, continue the political effort with Lebanese leaders and hope for Palestinian surrender.

Resignations last week in Washington and Beirut seemed to tilt the odds in favor of military action. Prospects for a political resolution suffered a blow in Lebanon when Prime Minister Shafik al-Wazzan said he was stepping down and leftist leader Walid Jumblatt withdrew from the "national salvation committee." The departure of Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. cost Israel its strongest supporter in Washington, the man most trusted to carry through American efforts toward a diplomatic solution that might achieve Israel's goals in Lebanon. The Secretary-designate, George P. Schultz, is regarded in Jerusalem as pro-Arab because of his business dealings with Saudi Arabia; it was feared that he might team up with Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger to threaten Israel with curtailment of military aid. Consequently, some Israeli policymakers were arguing for a rapid military move before the pressure built.

Ariel Sharon was reportedly among them. The campaign had already amounted to "a very great achievement for the security and for the peace of Israel," the Defense Minister said, adding that "the P.L.O. is on its way to complete destruction in Lebanon." Mr. Sharon insisted that Israel "should not be affected by any political provocations, internal or external, that exist and that may threaten our military and political achievements." Some officials who agreed with Mr.

Sharon argued that delay encouraged the Palestinian hierarchy in beleaguered west Beirut and strengthened the P.L.O.'s political status internationally while foreign pressure on Israel to disengage was mounting. As the efforts of the Lebanese to form a strong central government flagged, and the P.L.O. resisted appeals to lay down its arms, an impression has developed that the Palestinians have stiffened their resolve to fight and that Israel's pause at the edge of Beirut may have been a tactical error.

Still, officials insisted yesterday no decision had been made by Prime Minister Menachem Begin for an all-out assault on west Beirut. The current approach appeared to favor a tightening military noose, with intensive air strikes, shelling and shore bombardment — alternating with cease-fires, such as the one declared Friday after days of pounding — to break the P.L.O. leadership without sending the Israeli Army into the city.

## Pressures From Within

One of the principal inhibitions was the risk of high casualties that could result from house-to-house fighting. Although dwarfed by Palestinian and Lebanese casualties, Israeli deaths and injuries were already relatively high — more than 260 killed, 15 missing, one taken prisoner and more than 1,200 wounded, according to official army figures — and the losses weighed heavily on a population not entirely convinced of the justice or the unavailability of the war.

Some Government officials were aware that further casualties, coupled with a failure to achieve the ambitious goals, could be severely divisive, bolstering the standing of the opposition Labor Party chairman, Shimon Peres, and others arguing for restraint and caution. These internal political calculations were evidently more important to Mr. Begin than admonitions from Western

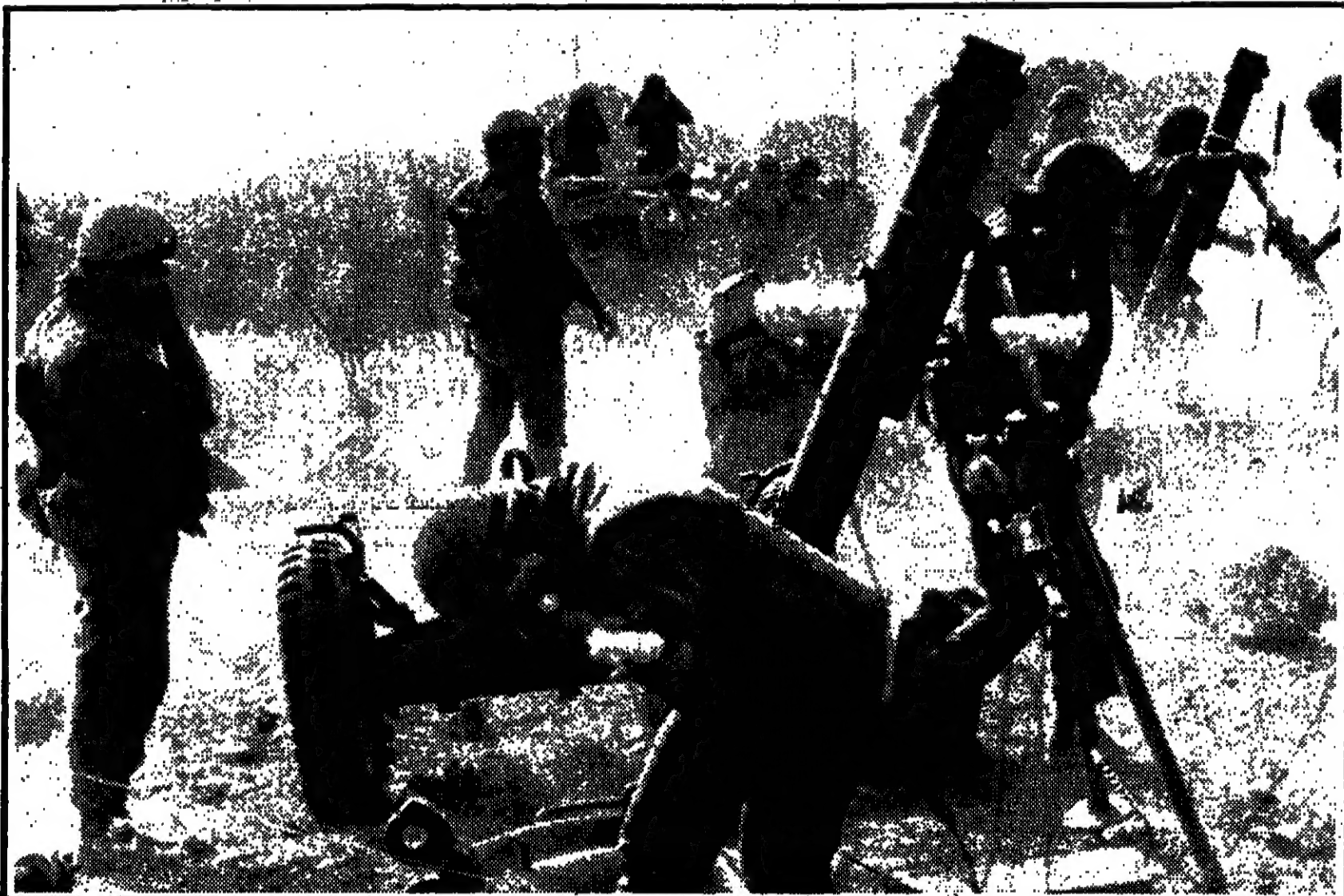
Europe, the United States and Egypt to spare Beirut. The Prime Minister does not want this war to end as the 1973 war did, with recriminations and commissions of inquiry.

Some protests were already being heard. The Peace Now movement, founded to advocate more Israeli flexibility in negotiations with Egypt, has placed antiwar advertisements in newspapers. A protest demonstration was held yesterday in Tel Aviv. "Lebanon is liable to become our Vietnam," said Prof. Shmuel Eitinger of Hebrew University. Raaya Harnik, whose son Giora was a major killed in the hand-to-hand battle for Beaufort castle, issued a statement condemning the invasion. "If we want to continue to be a humane, just and incorruptible society," she wrote, "we must make sure that our sword is clean and drawn only in defense."

Because of the casualty consideration, Israeli officials here tended to think that a military assault would have to involve intensive air and artillery bombardment to knock out as many Palestinian guerrillas as possible before Israeli troops went in. This would add to the devastation in west Beirut. Many Israelis feared it would stain the national honor, obliterating recent boasts of having the world's most humane army.

An early plan to place Lebanese Christian Phalangists at the forefront of any house-to-house assault on the Palestinians was apparently abandoned as impractical. The Christians were said to be unwilling and their strength insufficient to accomplish the task without crippling losses. Israel still wanted to establish a Christian-led government willing to sign a peace treaty. For that, a strong, intact Phalangist militia would be required after the battle was done.

How this would come out was an open question. But it was already clear that Israelis would judge the entire war not by its character thus far, but by its final outcome. If Messrs. Begin and Sharon achieved their ambitious goals of bringing quiet to Lebanon, the war would be remembered as brilliant, even altruistic, for having purged the Middle East of a malignant nest of terrorists. But if the expanded objectives proved unrealistic, or the residents of west Beirut were slaughtered in the process, this war would go into the Israeli conscience as a mark of shame.



Israeli soldiers firing 120mm mortars at Palestinian guerrilla positions in west Beirut last week.

## Military Victory Eludes the Government Despite Increased U.S. Aid

By RAYMOND BONNER

SAN SALVADOR — Last August, rebel forces held Perquin, a village in Morazan province, for nine days. This month, they held it for two weeks and also took nearby San Fernando, reportedly overcoming 250 Government troops. It took three American-trained battalions to dislodge the rebels, and there is still fierce fighting in the mountains.

Progress in guerrilla warfare is hard to measure because of its sporadic nature and the difficulty of confirming losses and gains. Nevertheless, cumulative evidence suggests that the guerrillas are stronger today than when the civil war began two and a half years ago.

There has been no real change in the army's conduct of the war since the March elections. In a recent interview, President Alvaro Magaña spoke about "pacification" programs and a need to change people's attitudes toward violence as a way to end the civil war. But he offered no specifics on how to do it.

The United States has given El Salvador some \$125 million in military assistance in the past 20 months — about \$6,000 per Salvadoran soldier. In addition, the Reagan Administration spent \$15 million training 1,400 Salvadoran infantrymen and officer candidates in the United States. There are also about 50 American military advisers in El Salvador; last week, several were encountered in a combat area in apparent violation of the terms governing their presence.

The Salvadorans have 20 American-supplied helicopters and recently obtained six American jets. The day after the planes arrived, rebels reported, they bombed San Fernando and Perquin.

The Salvadoran Army has conducted several search-and-destroy operations in northern Morazan, forcing the rebels to flee temporarily. When they return, they find their fields have been burned and mud brick houses destroyed. But although the Government's total military strength is about 30,000 troops compared to the 4,000 to 6,000 guerrillas, the army offensives have not broken the rebels' ability or will to fight. Government losses during the recent heavy fighting in Morazan are widely believed to have been the most severe in the war.

# Salvadoran Tactics Are Called Into Question

In a recent broadcast over their clandestine radio station, Venceremos (we shall overcome), the rebels read the names and units of 36 soldiers they claimed to have killed. They also identified by name most of the 43 soldiers they claimed to have captured, including a young officer who had been trained at Fort Benning, Ga.

Finding and silencing the radio station, which operates from an underground bunker near Perquin, was a key objective of an army sweep in December. Having failed, the Government now tries to jam the radio's short-wave frequency.

When the Reagan Administration increased military aid to El Salvador, it apparently thought the rebels could be crushed relatively quickly. El Salvador is about one-eighth the size of South Vietnam, with no dense jungle. Honduras is the guerrillas' only land sanctuary and supply route, but the Hondurans are allied with the Salvadoran Government and their army has had nearly 100 American Green Beret advisers assigned to it.

## Few Prisoners Taken

A principal objective of the American training has been to impress on the Salvadorans "that five men have a much higher survivability than 30 men in a group," said a Western military observer here. Yet an estimated 6,000 soldiers, most from three United States-trained battalions, are slogging through the mountains of Morazan in search of the guerrillas.

"It's like a covey of quail up there," said the

Western military observer. "Somebody starts shooting into the middle of our group and everybody spreads out 360 degrees." Similarly, soon after their return from Fort Bragg, N.C., the green-bereted soldiers of the Ramon Belloso battalion launched a massive operation in the rebel-dominated province of Chalatenango. "They telegraphed it down the line to get out," the Westerner said. But there were reports that the Salvadoran soldiers did utilize some small patrols and night ambushes.

The tally from the Chalatenango operation was 135 rebels killed. The government acknowledged that many of the victims were unarmed women and children. Civilian deaths, the Western observer said, are "one of the costs of this kind of war."

The Americans have tried to impress on the Salvadoran officers the importance of taking prisoners to obtain intelligence and to provide the guerrillas with some incentive to surrender. But the army has taken very few prisoners. According to a Red Cross worker here, army officers have said that taking prisoners is a "luxury" that imposes too great a burden on the Government side.

Asked why the rebels have not been defeated, Reagan Administration officials say it is because they have received assistance from Cuba and Nicaragua.

Rebel leaders reply that they do not have helicopters, jets or trucks, but "we will win because we have the support of the people," in the words of a 19-year-old commander. Like many other guerrilla leaders, he received his training in the Salvadoran Army. He said the Government soldiers were fighting because "they are paid to, are forced to." Government officials counter that the peasants are intimidated by the rebels. Whether the rebels have established "liberated zones," as they claim, is debatable, but in a significant portion of the country, their socialistic system of organization appears to function except when the army enters.

The Reagan Administration wants to train two more battalions in the United States, and it has budgeted \$166 million in military assistance for El Salvador next year. Even with this additional assistance, the most optimistic prediction of Salvadoran officials and community leaders is that it will take two more years to defeat the guerrillas.



## Officials Attribute Haig's Resignation in Part to International Economic Skirmishing

## Rising Trade Barriers Stir Memories of A Depression

By CLYDE H. FARNSWORTH

WASHINGTON — A surge of aggressive economic nationalism, as strong as any in the last half century, threatens to overwhelm the free-trade policies that have underwritten the postwar prosperity of industrialized nations.

Despite the mutual assurances at the recent Versailles summit meeting, leaders of the most powerful economies in the world are resorting to restrictions on trade as a quick fix to meet objectives abroad and to deal with high unemployment and deteriorating industries at home.

The resignation last week of Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. was triggered in part by a dispute over stern Reagan Administration measures restricting the sale of equipment and technology to American trading partners dealing with the Soviet Union, trade officials asserted.

The United States has long followed economic policies aimed at lowering trade barriers and avoiding the kind of protectionist battles that exacerbated the world depression in the 1930's. Today, almost 20 percent of the goods produced in the United States are exported, up 10 percent from a decade ago. One acre out of three of United States farmland is planted for export. Profits and jobs in the United States are inextricably linked to an open world trading system.

Now global recession has forced massive readjustments in traditional industries on both sides of the Atlantic.

In the United States the steel industry, operating at only 43 percent of capacity, and auto manufacturers are



Natural gas pipeline being installed in western Siberia.

hard pressed both by foreign competition and shrinking export markets. All industrialized countries are under pressure from powerful domestic interests to adopt protectionist measures.

"Of course such measures trigger countermeasures as countries lose export markets and are pressured to retaliate by their own domestic interests," observed Canada's Ambassador to Washington, Allan E. Goulbe. "Once this cycle is started it becomes very difficult to stop."

That cycle may have already begun. The Reagan Administration's ban on the sale of American equipment for the natural gas pipeline from the Soviet Union to Western Europe angered Europeans, who were counting on the 3,700-mile project to generate jobs in their depressed industries.

Washington's sanctions, designed to cause the delay if not the collapse of the pipeline in retaliation for continued Soviet repression in Poland, hit less than a month

after the Administration set stiff penalties on steel imports from Western Europe. The Commerce Department found that some European nations were illegally subsidizing their steel shipments, and imposed countervailing duties that could price European steel out of the United States market. Last week, in response to the measures, European Economic Community steel makers were told to cut back production.

While the two Administration actions were unrelated, their net effect was to weaken steel industries and add to unemployment in nations that are Washington's closest and most powerful allies. The Western Europeans are likely to retaliate against United States exports of food and textiles.

The United States, which enjoys a trading surplus with Western Europe almost as large as the \$18.1 billion American deficit last year with Japan, appeared to be telling the Europeans that they could not sell the output of one of their basic industries either in the United States or in the Soviet Union.

West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt said President Reagan gave the Europeans no hint at Versailles of the coming pipeline sanctions, although American officials said the measures should have come as no surprise in light of the President's position on Poland. Negotiations to resolve the steel subsidy dispute also broke down the week after the summit, when Europeans refused to accept voluntary export quotas.

A sharpening conflict over farm trade is another thorn in Atlantic relations. The Europeans angrily reject United States charges that they are subsidizing their farm exports, taking away American markets for poultry, grain and other products chiefly in the Middle East.

Trade frictions are becoming equally dramatic with Japan. Criminal charges that two Japanese companies, Mitsubishi Electric and Hitachi, conspired to steal secrets from International Business Machines sparked fresh concern that they were unfair traders. (Details of case, page 8.)

The Japanese have been pressured in recent years to open up their own capital markets to make them comparable to those they enjoy here and in Europe.

American officials fret privately that the trade deficit with Japan will rise to unacceptable levels, prompting a protectionist-minded Congress to take punitive action. A bill that would cripple Japanese auto sales by requiring up to 90 percent domestic content in all cars sold in the United States already has more than 200 cosponsors in the House.

"The situation on the Hill is the most dangerous since 1930," said David Rohs, staff director at the House trade subcommittee, referring to the year of the Smoot-Hawley tariffs, which some say triggered the Great Depression.

"We need some efforts to hold at bay the pressures for trade restraint until we can get a generalized economic recovery under way," said Bruce K. MacLaury, president of the Brookings Institution.

But as that recovery seems farther and farther off, many experts believe protectionist sentiment will grow and economic nationalism will cast a heavy cloud over any attempts to liberalize trade.

## SALT Negotiation Veterans Plumb the Potential of 'Start'

## Memories and Expectations of Geneva

## Gerard C. Smith

President Reagan should try to keep mentally as flexible as possible in the first part of the negotiation, at least, not insist too much on the opening position that he announced at Eureka College.

General Rowny should realize that he's doing business with human beings, not demons, and that the Soviets have as much of an interest in preserving the existence of this planet as he and the Administration.

I would expect them (the American public) to keep their expectations quite moderate, because the United States has not proved to be a very reliable negotiating partner.

We have three agreements (SALT II and two agreements limiting nuclear testing) we have negotiated with the Soviet Union in the field of arms control which have not been ratified.

So I think a period of time has to pass where it will be seen that we are seriously engaged in a negotiation that we plan to convert into an agreement for which we plan to get Congressional endorsement. This process will take a great deal of time.

## U. Alexis Johnson

My suggestion would be to divorce the Start negotiations from other aspects of our relations with the Soviets.

In the past, the SALT talks were prejudiced and also were given a false posture by tying them to other aspects of our relations.

To my mind, our strategic negotiations with the Soviets need not and should not be tied to détente, to whether you trust the Soviets or don't trust the Soviets, whether you like Soviets or don't. These talks have to be based upon the hard-headed self-interest of both countries.

I would tell General Rowny to be very, very patient; not to issue ultimatums but to explore all possibilities; not to concede points too readily; not to be put off by Soviet ultimatums or demands, but to slowly go at it in a methodical and patient way, seeking to find areas in which agreement can be achieved.

The important decisions, of course, are not made at the negotiators' level. The negotiators have to act as the mouthpieces for their two governments.

## Three Stages of Negotiations

There are going to have to be three stages at these negotiations. The first is the chiefs of states, the Brezhnev-Reagan level. The next is the Secretary of State and Foreign Minister level. And the next are the negotiators in Geneva.

It's the job of the negotiators to translate into the language of international agreement the agreements in principle that have been arrived at at the higher level and, in the course of that, to clarify and identify those areas of differences which have not been decided, to decide them at their level or, if they can't, kick them on to the next level.

I do not feel it's possible to achieve an agreement between the two countries which will cause this problem of nuclear weapons to go away. The best that can be done is to continue to discuss it. When opportunities arise for agreements, then make those agreements as more or less routine, rather than trying to treat them as being of transcendental importance. Because I do not think that we are going to achieve any agreements of transcendental importance.

We're dealing with a fast-moving situation with re-

THE process that used to be called the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks began Tuesday, 1982 and will resume Tuesday, 1983 under the Geneva Start, for strategic arms reduction talks. The chief American negotiator in Geneva will be Edward L. Rowny, a retired Army lieutenant general who represented the Joint Chiefs of Staff at the SALT talks from 1973 to 1979 but resigned as representative because he believed the SALT II treaty would leave the United States strategically inferior to the Soviet Union.

Mr. Rowny is presumably more at home with Ronald Reagan's position on strategic arms, which the President put forward in May in a speech at Eureka College. He proposed deep reductions in American and Soviet forces to a ceiling of 5,000 warheads on no more than 850 missiles. Of the warheads, no more than half could be deployed on land-based missiles.

Mr. Reagan's speech did not take the steam out of the antinuclear

movement. The House Foreign Affairs Committee last week called for "mutual and verifiable freeze" on the production and deployment of nuclear weapons by the Soviet Union and the United States.

Mr. Rowny call such freeze proposals "just a bumper from a negotiator's point of view." He said, "It hurts to have someone looking over my shoulder, believing this will have an impact." He also argued that freezing forces now would lock "inequalities into position."

Edward M. Kennedy, Democrat of Massachusetts and sponsor of a freeze resolution in the Senate, has called Mr. Reagan's deep-cut plan "wooden arms control," contending that it is really aimed at a large buildup of American forces.

The Russians have rejected the Reagan plan, arguing that it would restrict the land-based forces in which they excel but not the submarine-based warheads in which the United States has the edge. At the

United Nations session on disarmament last week, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko reiterated the rejection but offered no counterproposal, saying, "We will wait and see how the talks progress." Mr. Rowny said he was convinced the Russians sincerely wanted an arms agreement and an overall reduction in tensions with the West.

In advance of the talks, Leslie H. Gelb, the national security correspondent of The New York Times, spoke separately with all of the previous chief strategic arms negotiators.

Gerard C. Smith, chief negotiator from 1969 to 1972; U. Alexis Johnson, 1973-77; Paul C. Warnke, 1977-78; and Ralph Earle 2d, 1978-80. He also spoke with Malcolm Toon, a participant in much of the negotiating as Ambassador to Moscow from 1976 to 1978. Each discussed what he would tell President Reagan, General Rowny and the American public about the opportunities for and obstacles to progress.



From left: Ralph Earle 2d, Malcolm Toon, U. Alexis Johnson, Paul C. Warnke and Gerard C. Smith.

gard to the forces of the two countries, and we cannot freeze this at any single point. But we can help reduce the danger of the accidental nuclear war, and we can reduce the danger of nuclear blackmail from the other side.

## Paul C. Warnke

I would advise President Reagan to recognize that he has to build on what has already been accomplished; otherwise there is no chance that he can get where he wants to go. Unless he can preserve the elements that have already been agreed to and put in place, he'll be trying to reinvent the wheel. And as a consequence, technology, proliferation of warheads and so forth will get so far ahead of him that he can't get to his proposed reductions.

I would also try not to conduct the negotiations in speeches or the press; neither side is going to be able to make progress if they try to conduct the talks as a media blitz.

One thing General Rowny clearly has to do is estab-

lish his credibility with the Soviets. If he just flexes his muscles, he's going to find that they are very obdurate and it'll be a self-fulfilling prophecy that both sides will flex their muscles and nothing will get done.

The American public ought to expect very prompt results. The fact of the matter is that the elements of a further agreement are now quite visible and unless progress is made, it'll demonstrate that one or the other side is not trying.

I'm quite convinced that the Soviets are serious about wanting to have nuclear arms control for their own selfish purposes.

It is as yet to be determined whether or not the Reagan Administration is similarly serious.

## Ralph Earle 2d

The President's got to take into account Soviet perceptions of our approach. The fact that we consider the land-based missiles the most destabilizing may be well justified, but from the Soviet point of view they are the

systems with which the Soviets do the best and have their greatest concentrations. We've got to keep that in mind when we talk about deep cuts, particularly in land-based ICBMs.

Of course, Rowny has been there so I'm sure he has his own views on the actual conduct of the talks in Geneva. But the principal thing I counsel is patience and firmness — the realization that the Soviet bureaucracy is slow-moving and you're not going to accomplish a awful lot in a hurry. They are thorough, they're not going to have the wool pulled over their eyes.

In order to have a good agreement, you've got to have a lot of what Lloyd Cutler (counsel to President Carter) calls boilerplate in terms of definitions and verification procedures. These have to be done by people who are working full-time on the negotiations and who can get into the minutiae of the subject matter.

## The Question of Sincerity

Summits, or mini-summits, between the foreign ministers are (also) helpful because there's slightly greater flexibility, and also an opportunity to sound out the other side on what may be forthcoming in the future.

Based on what I understand the Administration position to be, I don't think the American people ought to expect very much very soon. We've staked out an inglorious position which, at least publicly, the Soviets have already rejected. Undoubtedly they will have their own positions and it'll take a long time for those positions to be fully articulated and made clear to the other side.

I've always said you can trust the Soviets to the extent that they will follow their own self-interest, as any nation-state should. Therefore, we ought to treat them as being sincere in their efforts to get an agreement, at the same time making sure, at least from our point of view, that whatever agreement we get is adequately verifiable.

## Malcolm Toon

Mr. Reagan should understand that whether it's on arms control matters or anything else of any substance, the nature of a negotiation with the Soviet Union is basically one of compromise. Therefore, while Mr. Reagan may feel that his position may be ideal, it's not going to be acceptable to the Soviets.

I would give General Rowny the same sort of advice. You cannot stick to a maximal position and then hope to have a successful outcome.

Secondly, I would hope — I hope that he's already done this sort of thing — that he would staff his delegation with people that are not only knowledgeable in arms control matters, but also have a good feel for the Soviets, have some knowledge of the language, have an ability to get along with these people. I think that's terribly important.

You ought to know precisely where you can give way and where you must stand firm. This requires, of course, a very sound understanding of our position and what's required in order to maintain the health of our defense posture.

This is going to be a much more complex negotiation than SALT II. We should be prepared to sit at the negotiating table for at least two or three years. Nonetheless, if we show the necessary perseverance, understanding of the problems involved, we can wind up with an agreement which we can live with and which will be acceptable to the other side.

I say that primarily because I think both sides have a real, genuine interest in arriving at a successful outcome.

BROADWAY 80

I'm glad I changed...



# The Nation

## In Summary

### At Last There's A Budget, but Who's Cheering?

"The alternative," Slade Gorton, a Republican Senator from Washington, said last week, "is chaos and disorganization that would have an extremely adverse impact on the economy." Clearly, enough of Congress agreed. With a marked lack of enthusiasm, both House and Senate approved the broad outlines of a plan for Government spending and taxing for the fiscal year starting Oct. 1.

The budget resolution includes a mandate for Congressional committees to approve the largest peacetime increase in military spending ever while making new, deep cuts in domestic programs. Further, the tax-writing committees are supposed to raise taxes by \$20.9 billion in the next fiscal year and \$98.3 billion over three years. Altogether, the resolution provides for Federal spending of \$769.6 billion in fiscal 1983 while projecting a deficit of \$103.9 billion. (The Congressional Budget Office, whose calculations were brushed aside in the rush to end the five-month imbroglio, predicted the real deficit may be nearer \$116.4 billion.)

Many Democrats talked about fighting on in the trenches. However, in short order, the Republican-run Senate Finance Committee, abiding by the resolution, voted to whack more than \$17 billion over the next three years from Federal welfare and health programs. And the House promptly sustained a veto of a supplemental appropriations bill containing what Mr. Reagan and his allies had termed a budget-busting "bailout" for the housing industry.

Mr. Reagan called the budget resolution "the first important hurdle blocking our path to lower interest rates." There may be many more to go. The Commerce Department estimated last week that the economy had expanded a bit in the current April-June quarter, prompting speculation that the recession might be ending. Meanwhile, the Labor Department said that consumer prices went up 1 percent in May, the biggest increase since September. But many economists said the rise didn't necessarily mean a new inflationary burst was imminent because, as one put it, "overall economic activity is lackluster enough."

With Congress adopting a spending program that the White House professed to be delighted with, as usual, the Federal Reserve Board resumed the role of No. 1 target. Treasury Secretary Donald T. Regan, who months ago was forecasting that interest rates would be dropping sharply by now, predicted that unless the cost of borrowing declined substantially, recovery from the recession "will be anemic at best." But Mr. Regan backed away from reports that the Treasury Department was reviewing proposals for reining in the Fed, saying only that the central bank had "not been very helpful."

### Not a Bad Week To Be a Democrat

The Democrats and their Presidential hopefuls are gathered in Philadelphia, determined to advance their cause primarily by agreeing on one

Going into the closing session of their National Party Conference today, it appeared they might get through three days of potshotting the Republicans without catching each other in the crossfire.

If they were successful in presenting a picture of unity, it was due at least in part to the broad nature of the seven policy statements they fixed on yesterday as a sort of off-year platform. Substance threatened only once, in an area the Democrats consider their strongest suit — the Administration's policies as they affect the well-to-do. Benefits from the third year of the Reagan tax cut, the delegates urged, ought to be capped at \$700; the change would touch people with incomes over \$40,000 only.

Overall, the mood was cheerful, with the party's leaders and pollsters assuring the 897 delegates that they could regain in November much of the ground lost in 1980. They had issues to campaign on — Social Security, unemployment and growing sentiment for a nuclear arms freeze; and a wounded White House to campaign against — news of Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig's resignation brought cheers from the floor.

With the Presidential election still two years off, the Democrats' potential candidates were not about to spoil the atmosphere by stressing their differences. Instead, former Vice President Walter F. Mondale and Senators Alan Cranston of California, Ernest Hollings of South Carolina, John Glenn of Ohio and Gary Hart of Colorado took turns at the podium Friday lambasting Reagan policies. Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts was due to speak today.

### Donovan Leaps to His Own Defense

While the President is ostensibly standing by his Secretary of Labor, it was reported last week that Mr. Reagan's closest advisers had concluded that Mr. Donovan — accused of, among other things, having witnessed the payment of a bribe to a union official in 1977 — should either resign or step aside until the special prosecutor looking into his affairs, Leon Silverman, has completed his report. Though the precariousness of Mr. Donovan's position was such that officials were reportedly considering the names of several potential replacements, his fate is not likely to be decided until Mr. Silverman's inquiry is completed.

The bitterness of the inquiry was such that Mr. Donovan's former employer, the Schiavone Construction Company of Secaucus, N.J., apparently took some pains to unearth and then publicize the fact that an investigator on the staff of the Senator Labor and Human Resources Committee had faced criminal charges in 1961. The committee, which confirmed Mr. Donovan last year, is considering a new round of hearings.

Mr. Donovan complained that he was the victim of "vicious attacks" by Congressional leaders and vowed to remain in the cabinet. In his first statement since the inquiry began, last week Mr. Donovan expressed "disgust with the relentless and cowardly attacks that have been made on me and my company by an alliance of individuals who have a total disregard for the truth."

### Ill Wind For Urban Aid

When it comes to urban policy, Cabinet-level drafts don't necessarily indicate which way the wind is blowing in the White House, President Reagan said last week. The explanation was offered to big-city mayors concerned that the Administration would officially adopt the view that Federal aid to cities contributed more to local problems than to their solutions.

The mayors' fears stemmed from a preliminary report by staff members of the Department of Housing and Urban Development that was disclosed just as the United States Conference of Mayors was meeting in Minneapolis. The report said Government help had contributed to urban decline and transformed local officials "from bold leaders of self-reliant cities to wily stalkers of Federal aid." The report said even those cities with the worst fiscal problems could muddle through without that aid.

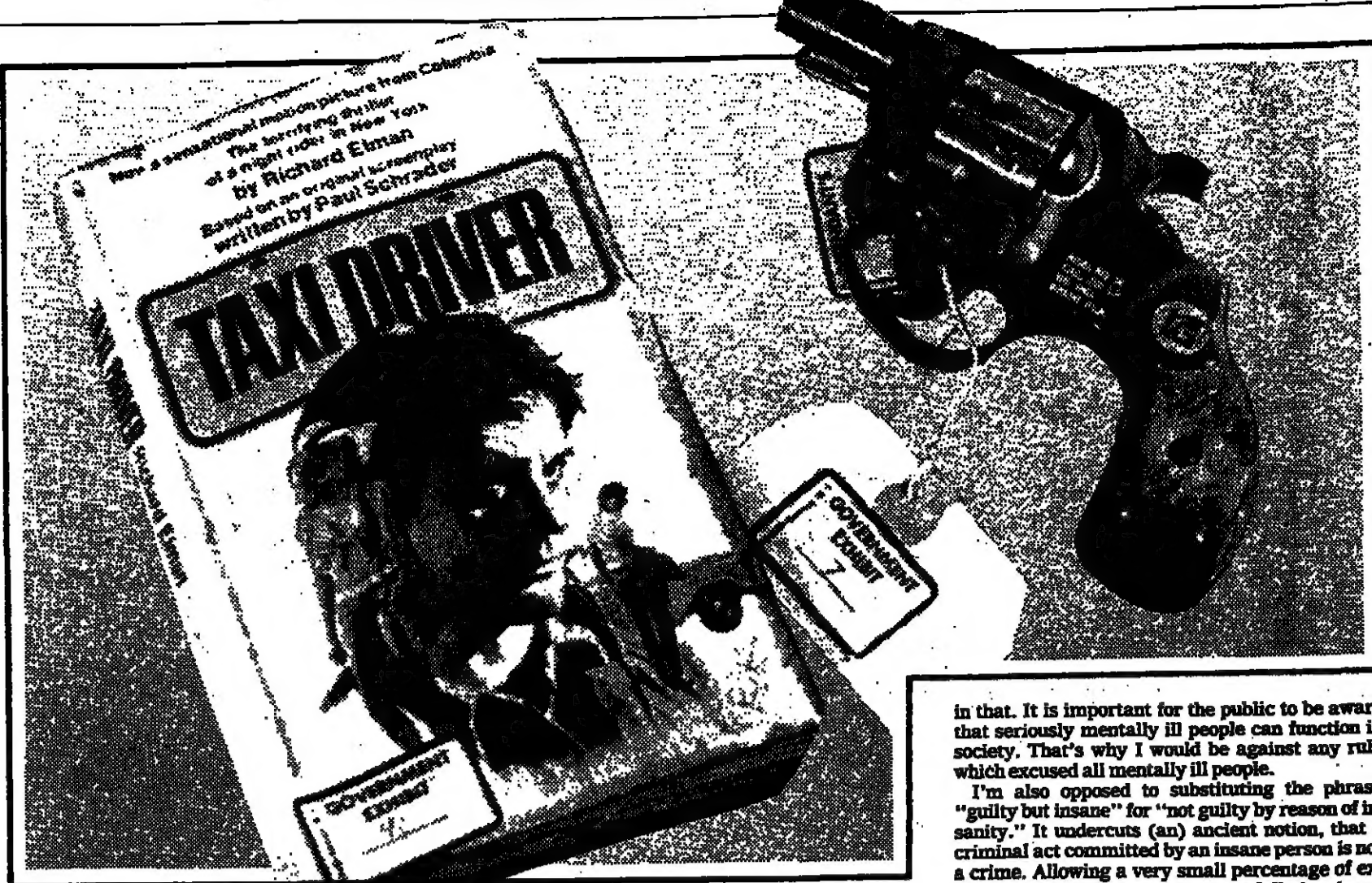
The Mayors of Richmond, Va. and Syracuse, N.Y. likened the report to a declaration of war, and the conference's resolutions committee called on the President to reject the report's "philosophy, approach and contents." Mr. Reagan hastened to say that the report was "only a draft" of an urban policy report the President is required to submit to Congress every two years; it had "not been approved nor adopted." Felix G. Rohatyn, chairman of New York's Municipal Assistance Corporation, was notably unassuaged. "Drop dead" in draft form is not much better than "drop dead" in final form," he said.

Michael Wright, Caroline Rand Herron and Carlyle C. Douglas



Former Vice President Mondale and Senator Gary Hart in Philadelphia.

## A ROUNDTABLE: The Insanity Defense



United Press International; The New York Times/Amis Sachs (Specter); Gamma-Liaison/Steve Lis (Dershowitz)

## Hinckley Verdict Tested Far More Than the Jury

WHEN John W. Hinckley Jr., who fired explosive bullets into the bodies of President Reagan and three other men nearly 15 months ago, was found not guilty by reason of insanity last week, the public reaction was outrage. Mr. Hinckley, who was committed to a Washington mental hospital, theoretically could be released within months; his lawyers, who maintained during the eight-week trial that the attack stemmed from his desire to win the love of actress Jodie Foster, said they wouldn't attempt to free him until they no longer considered him dangerous. The *Week in Review* asked Senator Arlen Specter, a Pennsylvania Republican, and Alan Dershowitz, a professor at Harvard Law School, to talk about the insanity defense. Excerpts of their discussion with Caroline Rand Herron, an editor of *The Review*, and Stuart Taylor Jr., a reporter in the Washington bureau of *The New York Times*, follow.

**Question.** The Hinckley case and its verdict have raised debate on issues ranging from the legal moieties of the insanity plea to how society's interest is served by the existence of such a plea. Both from the perspective of the jury's verdict and the law the jury was told it must apply, do you think justice was done?

**Mr. Specter.** I think justice was not done. If the Hinckley standard is available to all those accused of acts of violence, I would say that upward of 70 percent could provide as good an insanity defense — based on my experience as district attorney for Philadelphia, where we handled some 250,000 cases during my eight years of office.

**Mr. Dershowitz.** I believe that justice was done. Justice is a process, not a particular result. In this case, the process included an independent jury given a great deal of information from a wide variety of sources, presented by an excellent team of defense attorneys and prosecutors in a trial presided over by a first-rate judge.

The jury assessed the information and acting as the conscience of the community rendered a verdict. That verdict is extremely unpopular. But the fact that 12 independent people could exercise their judgment in the face of enormous popular and governmental pressures showed that our system of justice is very much alive.

As far as the Senator's statement about 70 percent being available for an insanity plea, it's important to know that far fewer than 1 percent of all felonies in this country result in a successful insanity plea. Insanity is a defense of last resort, which rarely succeeds.

### Shifting the Burden of Proof

**Mr. Specter.** I'm well aware of the fact insanity is pleaded very infrequently, but that's because defendants are not as rich as Mr. Hinckley. When Professor Dershowitz asserts that justice is a process, I agree with that. And part of the process is to learn from the Hinckley case.

Toward that end I've introduced legislation which would make three changes in the law on insanity: one, on the substantive definition of insanity; secondly, on the burden of proof — to place it on the defendant; and third, to limit psychiatric evidence away from the ultimate question — whether the defendant was legally insane.

(In our hearings in the criminal law subcommittee) five jurors appeared, and it is apparent that there was enormous confusion. One of the jurors, Mr. Johnson, said, "Nobody knew what was in his head that day." The result in the Hinckley case doubtless arose because the burden of proof was on the prosecution to prove it beyond a reasonable doubt and that simply was unrealistic.

**Mr. Dershowitz.** I am concerned that if the burden of proof is shifted on the insanity defense, this may be the opening wedge to shift the burden of proof on other defenses, such as self-defense.

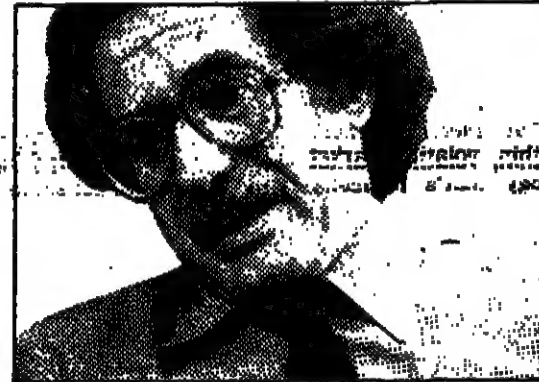
I do believe that the jury in this case was confused about the technicalities of the insanity defense. Jurors are often confused, both in cases where they render guilty verdicts and where they render not-guilty verdicts. And I agree with Senator Specter that the rule ought to be changed as to the nature of psychiatric evidence in a way that would prevent psychiatrists from pre-empting the role of the jurors to make the ultimate moral decision.

But I do not share his desire to see the burden of proof shifted — nor do I believe that changing the substantive definition will have any real impact on insanity verdicts. There is no evidence that the verbal formulation really affects the jury; the jury essentially is being asked, whatever the formulation, to render a judgment according to the evidence that they have heard.

**Q.** It's also been said about the Hinckley case that it was a trial of psychiatry as much as it was the trial of Mr. Hinckley. How would you limit the



Arlen Specter



Alan Dershowitz

psychiatrists' role? Would you have psychiatrists not be considered experts?

**Mr. Dershowitz.** Well, psychiatrists and psychologists and others are experts on certain aspects of the insanity defense — but not on the ultimate issue.

But psychiatry, if it was on trial, passed with flying colors. In most countries, the experts would get together in a small private room, hash out their disagreements, and present a united front in public. That would make the profession look somewhat better. But it would deny the jury and the public the right to see the reality — that psychiatry is very much in disagreement.

**Mr. Specter.** The difficulty with psychiatric evidence is that you can find as many psychiatrists as you choose on any side of any question — which, regrettably, is possible for most expert witnesses in most matters. Attorneys handle both sides — prosecutor and defense — alternately in their careers. We could have role reversals of most of the expert witnesses who appear.

Courts have frequently said that expert evidence is the lowest form of evidence in terms of its probative value. But I do believe that, with the jury trial system, psychiatrists have to be permitted to testify. But I think they can be limited far from what they testified to at the Hinckley case.

**Mr. Dershowitz.** It's somewhat overstated to say that you could find a psychiatrist to testify on anything. What we're talking about in the Hinckley case and in all the other famous cases of psychiatric clashes are really close cases.

**Mr. Specter.** Have you ever been unsuccessful in finding a psychiatrist to testify about a proposition you were asserting?

**Mr. Dershowitz.** Yes, I have in fact. I had a case not so long ago where I had a defendant who was charged with robbing a post office. I spoke to a number of psychiatrists, and they all unanimously told me that although this person was not in the best of mental health, none of them would testify that he was insane.

**Mr. Specter.** Try them after the Hinckley verdict.

### Psychiatric Disagreement

**Mr. Dershowitz.** Well, the point I want to make is, however one comes out on the verdict, Hinckley was a close case.

Here is a man everybody acknowledges is not normal. Whether he's legally insane is a close question, but we shouldn't be surprised to find the best psychiatrists in the world disagreeing. That doesn't mean that you would find reputable psychiatrists coming in to testify in a wide number of cases involving defendants with no prior history of mental illness and bizarre behavior.

**Mr. Specter.** The difficulty is (when) you move from the evidence in Hinckley, where you have testimony about different friends, where you have testimony that he was a depressive man, and the testimony about the personality disorders that takes in a wide range of people.

I was impressed with a comment in the newspapers: "Schizophrenics have served effectively as senators, judges, heads of major institutions, as presidents of schools, distinguished surgeons, psychiatrists and in all probability, if the grapevine is reliable, President of the United States."

**Mr. Dershowitz.** There's obviously some truth

in that. It is important for the public to be aware that seriously mentally ill people can function in society. That's why I would be against any rule which excused all mentally ill people.

I'm also opposed to substituting the phrase "guilty but insane" for "not guilty by reason of insanity." It undercuts (an) ancient notion, that a criminal act committed by an insane person is not a crime. Allowing a very small percentage of extremely sick defendants to successfully invoke an insanity defense undermines the moral basis of the criminal law by telling the remaining 99-plus percent of the people, "You are responsible and you are different from the mentally ill, and we will hold you accountable for your conduct."

**Q.** Several of the jurors who testified at your hearings indicated they wished there had been another box on the verdict form where they could have checked something like "guilty but insane" — that they thought Mr. Hinckley should be treated and then he should be punished.

**Mr. Specter.** I have difficulty with this but I am going to consider it. The difficulty arises from the consequence of "guilty but insane." When you convict, there can be a sentence. When you make a determination of insanity, then an entirely different set of rules governs detention.

**Mr. Dershowitz.** Sanity, insanity are not sharp-line determinations. In some jurisdictions there are middle categories. I suspect, however, that the uproar over the Hinckley case may result in elimination of other psychiatric-type mitigating verdicts, such as diminished capacity.

**Mr. Specter.** Insanity and sanity are not mutually exclusive under the legal doctrines considering the burden of proof.

For example, to prove that a person is sane — to use the vernacular — and can be released from an institution, he must prove sanity by a preponderance of the evidence, which means more likely than not, or, say, 51 percent. To prove that a person is not insane, as was the standard in the Hinckley case, beyond a reasonable doubt — you cannot quantify it (but you know it is more than 99.99 percent, say, hypothetically, 70 percent).

You can have a person who is not legally insane who passes the first standard but does not pass the second. There's a middle ground where you're in no-man's land, which is the anomaly, or to use Dickens' phrase, "the law is an ass."

### Detention and Release

**Mr. Dershowitz.** That is an important theoretical concern. In practice, with few exceptions, we do find that people who are found to be not guilty by reason of insanity — that is, a reasonable doubt exists — are considered insane and don't leave institutions very shortly.

**Mr. Specter.** How would you approach the detention of Mr. Hinckley, given an array of psychiatrists (vouching) that he is not a danger any longer to the community or to himself. Can we constitutionally detain him?

**Mr. Dershowitz.** For any citizen who has committed acts as dangerous and harmful as those committed by Mr. Hinckley, we needn't worry about predicting the future. Here's a man who has established his dangerousness without any doubt by committing these past acts. That gives society the power and the jurisdiction to impose on him the burden of proving he is no longer dangerous.

**Q.** What about more anonymous victims or more anonymous acts? Is it harder or easier to think about changing the insanity law because Mr. Hinckley's target was the President?

**Mr. Dershowitz.** Most of the changes over the last 500 years have resulted from heinous and notorious cases.

**Mr. Specter.** If you can't convict someone who has shot at the President and maimed Jim Brady (the President's press secretary), how are you going to convict anyone of similar conduct with a similar defense, given the resources and money to hire the psychiatrists, against an average victim?

**Mr. Dershowitz.** Here's where I completely disagree. It is more likely that somebody who shoots at a popular President is going to be insane than somebody who shoots at a stranger. In fact, the Warren Commission concluded that all prior Presidential assassins had a history of mental illness and were probably insane. Presidents, prime ministers, popes, charismatic figures tend to attract the insane more than normal people.

**Q.** In your subcommittee hearings, Senator Specter, there was testimony indicating that the jurors did not understand the legal instructions the judge gave them. The judge spoke first of deciding whether the defendant was mentally ill, and then of deciding that, notwithstanding his illness, he had substantial capacity to control his actions or to appreciate the wrongfulness of his actions. Do you think they understood the instructions? If not, do you think it should be simplified?

**Mr. Specter.** I thought that the jurors did not understand the instructions, the substance of the law of insanity. They thought it made no difference who had the burden of proof.

**Mr. Dershowitz.** I agree, from my experience, that juries do not understand current insanity formulations. This led Judge David Bazelon several years ago to suggest that all technical formulations be scrapped and the jury instructed simply to consider whether, in light of all the medical and other evidence, the defendant can "justly be held responsible for his act."

I would certainly commend a formulation which incorporates the moral basis of the insanity defense and frees the jury to reflect the morality of the community and to reject the conclusions of psychiatrists and the technical jargon of the law.

**Q.** How would you have voted if you were on the Hinckley jury?

**Mr. Specter.** Guilty.

**Mr. Dershowitz.** I have no idea, because I didn't hear all the evidence. But I suspect I might have voted guilty.



# The Economy

## The Coming Flood Of Treasury Debt

By LESLIE WAYNE

These past weeks have rattled the nation's credit markets, where the United States Government and American industry turn for money. Bond prices have skidded to yearly lows, and interest rates remain stubbornly high. The number of bids at the most recent Treasury auction shrank by a fourth, a disquieting sign of things out of joint. High interest rates have long since driven corporate borrowers from the long-term bond market, and the highly publicized collapse of Drysdale Government Securities, a small, over-ambitious player in Government bonds, has caused nervous investors to become even more skittish.

And Wall Street is bracing for even tougher times ahead. Come July, the onslaught begins when the United States Government starts to flood the market with record new borrowings, prompted in large measure by the need to finance the growing Federal deficits. The Treasury says it plans \$15.5 billion in new borrowings during the July-September quarter and declines to project further. But on Wall Street, it is taken for granted that there will be more — much more. By conservative estimates, Uncle Sam will be borrowing some \$60 billion before the year is out, and some estimates run to \$100 billion or more.

Borrowings of that magnitude would be the largest money-raising the Federal Government has ever attempted in a six-month period, and Wall Street sees this coming tide as the wave that almost certainly will keep interest rates at their present painful levels, if not push them even higher.

No less an oracle than Henry Kaufman, the Salomon Brothers' economist who has sent the credit markets into a skid on the strength of his dire interest rate predictions, frets that the huge Government borrowings will push rates up to the highs of last year, when 30-year Government bonds reached nearly 16 percent and AAA corporate utility bonds changed hands at 18 percent. Today, those same Government bonds are trading near 15 percent, and corporates are around 16.5 percent.

"In the financial markets," Mr.

Kaufman said in a recent speech, "it's become a matter of how high interest rates will then be driven. In the economy, the question becomes, 'how serious will be the casualties?'"

"The financial markets will make room for the large volume of Government financing," he added in an interview, although in his view this will come "at the expense of draining the vitality from the economy."

Such talk is enough to keep even the most hardened bond traders on edge.

"You've got a market which is questioning almost everything; it's a plain nervous atmosphere," said Edwin S. Myers Jr., who heads corporate bond trading for Merrill Lynch & Company. "This isn't a time for panic, but it is for caution and prudence. The markets are controlled by emotions as much as anything else. We're aware it will be difficult for the market to absorb all that borrowing."

The events of the past few weeks have done little to spare these emotions. The collapse of Drysdale Securities, a relatively tiny firm that became overextended and could not meet certain payments, touched off a new concern over credit risks. As a result, many of the smaller bond dealers have found it more difficult to finance their holdings. They have stopped buying Government issues, further contracting demand and forcing the Treasury to offer more attractive yields to sell its offerings. Inasmuch as all rates are tied to what the Government, the safest credit risk, is paying, the entire market has been affected.

Some signs of Drysdale's impact came at the most recent auction of two-year Treasury notes, when bids totaling only \$9 billion were submitted. A similar auction last May drew bids totaling \$13.3 billion. Not only did the scant number of bidders shake the markets, but also the day after the notes were issued, at an attractive yield of 14.43 percent, they sank in value by \$8 for each \$1,000 note.

"There's already been tremendous losses from those notes," said Maria Florini Ramirez, senior money market economist at Merrill Lynch. "You've got a thin, volatile market and a psychology that's basically negative."

While there are many explanations

for why interest rates remain so high, at some point the credit markets are reducible to relatively simple concepts of supply and demand. When the markets are crowded with borrowers trying to raise money, sellers must drop their prices (and thereby offer higher yields) in order to sell their bonds. As a result, the debt securities that people already own also drop in value, because anyone selling such bonds would have to match the new, more attractive yields available on new issues.

Thus when there are fewer buyers of bonds, prices naturally fall. One effect of the Drysdale episode was to reduce the buyers' ranks. But Drysdale is by no means the entire story. Buyers for all types of securities have been disappearing. Institutional investors, which provided the bulk of the buying, have sustained heavy losses in their bond portfolios and are investing only in short-term securities, if at all.

"The amount of money available is shrinking; certainly the cash flow going into long-term bonds has shrunk significantly," said Eric P. Sheinberg, a partner at Goldman, Sachs & Company. "With the losses that institutional investors have had with long-term bonds, the question is whether there is really money available for long-term debt that could be issued in the future."

Similarly, Joseph Bench, fixed-income economist with Shearson/American Express, explained that "the reason there aren't more people willing to put money out at these yields is because they've already made a bet at a lower yield and seen that virtually everything in their portfolio is at a loss." In 1970, he said, a 9 percent yield looked attractive; in 1974, it was 12 percent. "We've seen a constant ratcheting up of interest rates over time that has left these portfolios far under water," he said.

There are many perverse elements to this situation. Oddly, the high interest rates come as inflation is easing, and as the nation tries to pull out of the recession that began last year.

Traditional economics states that recessions are a way of bringing down interest rates, because corporate borrowings generally decrease when the economy is poor. But that has not happened. Despite the recession, which has sapped profits — the demand for money remains high, and the nation is plagued by the twin troubles of high interest rates and a recession.

Even the promising economic statistics released last week indicating that the recession may be ending, hasn't lessened Wall Street's fears of worse times ahead.

"We can't worry about last year's problem of inflation. We have much bigger problems right now," Mr. Bench of Shearson said. In his view, unless interest rates are brought down quickly, the entire financial system is at risk. "The problem is very serious and we can't ignore it," he said. "Given that many companies are into the banks for cash and lots of money, they'll have to get some interest rate relief soon or they will have a tough time making it."



Henry S. Kaufman of Salomon Brothers, left, and David Jones of Aubrey G. Lanston.

Some have not made it. Last week, more businesses failed than in any single week since the Depression, exceeding the mark set just the week before. What happens on Wall Street is inexorably tied to what happens in the offices of corporate America. The high long-term rates have all but closed long-term borrowings as a way for business to raise cash, preventing them from fixing their interest costs at a set rate over a long-time period. Instead, businesses are being forced to borrow short term — less than a year — leaving them vulnerable if rates shoot up again when they need to refinance.

Short-term borrowings are being used by many companies just to stay alive — to pay taxes, to finance working capital and to repay past borrowings. But this is self-defeating: As the recession eats into revenues, businesses are forced to borrow more, which increases their costs and makes them even weaker.

"Businesses have tightened their belt to the point that they barely exist," said David Jones, an economist at Aubrey G. Lanston & Company, a Government securities dealer. "Businesses can't borrow in the disorderly and high-cost bond market. They are being crowded out by the Government. The only AAA-rated credit that is borrowing is the Federal Government. Business has been forced out of the bond market and has to rely on short term. The trouble is that if you borrow short, you have to run just to stay in place."

In the first six months of 1982, businesses borrowed about \$21 billion in

short-term loans from commercial banks and issued about \$6 billion in commercial paper, promissory notes that must be paid back within nine months. And this is costly borrowing. Bank borrowings are generally pegged to the prime rate, now 16.5 percent, with many businesses paying rates several points above prime.

As most recessions near an end, rates typically drop and business "locks in" these low rates by issuing corporate bonds to finance its recovery — spending the money on such things as hiring employees, expanding operations and building inventories.

This recession, however, is different. Business entered the 1981 recession last summer only a few months after emerging from the previous one. Inflation was high and corporate balance sheets had large amounts of debt. Many businesses were geared to operating in an inflationary environment and had borrowed heavily to expand on the assumption that this debt would be paid off with cheaper dollars. They bet on inflation continuing high. And the Federal tax system favored such borrowing because the tax deductibility of interest payments cut borrowing costs in half.

But the rules of the game have changed. Inflation has fallen sharply — so the bet has turned sour. The Reagan Administration has lightened the tax burden on corporations, making the tax break on interest payments less potent. Debt has become less desirable.

Economists question whether any economic recovery can survive in the face of the huge Government demand for money. They theorize that the combination of Treasury borrowings and any recovery-induced business borrowings could push rates to even higher levels, causing the economic recovery to falter.

"We see the economy going into a sluggish setting next year," said Mr. Kaufman. "High interest rates will choke off an economic recovery and force corporations to cut back even more in their capital outlays. We won't have the boom from capital outlays by business that all of us would prefer. This kind of environment is a sputter-and-spurt economy."

"We just don't see the recovery being sustained," said Charles Lieberman, an economist at Morgan Stanley. "Some companies are so highly leveraged, whether they can pay enough debt to survive the difficult period ahead is highly uncertain."

Indeed, there are those who see no way out of the dilemma without a

financial crisis. "We're not in a recession, we're in the early stages of a depression," said Raymond T. Dalio, president of Bridgewater Associates, an economic consulting firm. "A depression is a self-feeding liquidity crisis — it's a cash-flow squeeze that occurs when the economy turns down, inventories are being sold, borrowings increased and liquidity reduced."

There are many who blame the predicament on President Reagan, whose stimulative tax cuts, they say, forced the Federal Reserve into a tougher stance on monetary policy to curtail inflation. But others say the problem has much deeper roots.

The deregulation of the rates banks may pay for funds has led to a general upward drift in what banks pay and charge for money. They pass their higher costs along to borrowers. In addition, the 1979 decision by the Federal Reserve Board to focus principally on managing the growth of the nation's money supply — cash and demand deposits at banks — rather than monitoring interest rates has resulted in much greater fluctuation in those rates. As a result, investors now demand higher returns to compensate for the risk of this volatility.

"Like cheap energy, the days of cheap money are over," said James Toffey, a managing director and head of the taxable fixed-income department at the First Boston Corporation. "Before the saver was taken advantage of, and the borrower had a license to steal. With deregulation of interest rates, money is a commodity and its price is set by the laws of supply and demand, not by artificial restraints."

In past recessions, the Federal Reserve Board has eased the supply of money to lower interest rates and get the economy moving. But the Fed has firmly rejected that course. It believes that limiting the growth in the money supply is the only way to bring down inflation and, in the long run, interest rates. But economists say that this restrictive policy and the large deficit-induced borrowings means that business will bear the brunt.

There is, indeed, little consensus among economists on the way out of this dilemma. Some call for the Fed to be less monetarist, others call for a reduction in the Federal deficit. Some say it is too late, others call on business to pay off its short-term debt the moment it can. Some say Congress should exert more control over the Fed; others that relief will come only through the suffering of business. But, in all cases, there is little optimism over the days ahead.

## Chinese Study Capitalist Lessons

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

DALIAN, China — A giant statue of Chairman Mao Zedong dominates the entrance of the Dalian Institute of Technology, and his quotations, along with those of Marx and Lenin, adorn the great stairwell inside like elegant graffiti.

But the presence of the late Great Helmsman seemed quite irrelevant in the classroom, where the Chinese students earnestly leaned forward to catch every word of the collective wisdom of their American professors.

Their lectures were part of an improbable but flourishing program that is teaching American management skills to 180 Chinese technocrats at a leafy campus just outside this northern port city.

"I think the key is that we are all members of a universal management," Prof. William A. Fischer of the University of North Carolina told the students in the program that resumed this month. "We all face the same allocation decisions. We all need to motivate workers. And we all need to ensure that our organizations contribute to the achievement of national social goals."

Graduates of the program's two previous sessions have not reported back on its practical impact and examinations are only being scheduled in some courses this year. Yet the Dalian program, which costs the

United States about \$160,000 a year, has come to be regarded as a successful ingredient of the Sino-American protocol on scientific and technical cooperation. The Chinese have asked the Americans to keep teaching in Dalian at least through 1984.

Prof. Arthur Brief of New York University discussed employee motivation, and Prof. Harrison Wadsworth of the Georgia Institute of Technology spoke about quality control. Prof. Bertrand N. Horowitz of the State University of New York at Binghamton explained how corporations used accounting systems to make decisions.

It remains unclear to what extent the American skills, developed in a climate of free enterprise and competition, can be grafted onto China's Marxist economic model, which is hampered by Communist Party interference despite wide-ranging reforms in the past few years.

The students, selected from factories, institutes and Government offices around China for the six-month program, have balked at the unfamiliar case study approach of their teachers and seemed puzzled by such basic Western economic concepts as market pricing.

At least a few expected that American business know-how could be learned in a dramatic inside revelation, providing a panacea for China's efforts to catch up with the West. Others with a Marxist ideological bias have wondered what, if anything, in

the American experience would be useful for China.

The National Center for Industrial Science and Technology Management Development, as the program is called, was started in Dalian two years ago as the result of earlier talks between Dr. Frank Press, then President Carter's science adviser, and Deng Xiaoping, the leader who charted China's modernization course.

The logic of asking capitalists to teach communists how to be better managers was summed up by Tian Zhengsheng, an electronics company official enrolled in the current session.

"Japan built up its economy quickly after World War II because it imported a lot of good management techniques from the United States," Mr. Tian explained. "Though China has a different social system from the United States, in terms of management I think we can find a lot of things in common."

The Dalian program is sponsored by the United States Department of Commerce with three powerful Chinese counterparts, the State Economic Commission, the State Science and Technology Commission and the Ministry of Education, which pay the bulk of the costs. The Department of Commerce pays half the salaries of two dozen rotating professors, lawyers and businessmen who teach their specialties.

The course is restricted to middle-

level managers and bureaucrats, usually from 30 to 55 years old, with a technical degree and five years of practical experience.

The students spent the first six weeks reviewing basic mathematics and economics with Chinese instructors before the Americans arrived. The first nine weeks of the American program include courses in accounting, production and organizational behavior. A second phase of 12 weeks involves elective courses like marketing and information systems.

The American teachers have found that the Chinese, after being cut off from the West for so many years, lag far behind in most subjects, though their working experience is something of a compensation.

"There's a real lack of understanding of how the market system works and how the American system works in particular," acknowledged Professor Fischer, who has come back for his third summer of teaching.

Though classes start at 7:30 A.M., teaching time is effectively cut in half because everything must be translated sequentially from English to Chinese. "In six weeks, you can't cover much ground, so you hope you can get the basic techniques across; but you won't have time to go into the subtleties," said Michael P. Beck, a research statistician who was lent by the Exxon Corporation for six weeks to teach inventory management.

The nation's trade deficit widened in May to a seasonally adjusted \$3.29 billion from \$3.22 billion in April. Imports rose a record 18.4 percent and exports were up 2.1 percent.

The nation's money supply fell by \$2.3 billion in the week ended June 16, following a \$1.4 billion rise the week before, the Fed said.

Common Market ministers agreed to lift trade sanctions against Argentina but said the sanctions would be renewed if hostilities continued. Weapons shipments are still banned.

A poor Soviet grain harvest for the fourth year in a row was forecast as estimates put the winter wheat crop at 185 million metric tons, 50 million tons below the planned target.

The Standard Oil Company (Ohio) raised prices on its North Slope oil by \$2 to \$3 a barrel.

## THE WEEK IN BUSINESS

The Senate approved a \$769.8 billion budget for next year, providing record-high peacetime military outlays, sharp cuts in domestic spending and a victory for President Reagan. The President vetoed an \$8.9 billion supplemental appropriation bill that included \$3 billion to subsidize mortgages and a \$1 billion emergency-spending bill.

A "flash" estimate by the Commerce Department projected an inflation-adjusted annual growth rate for the gross national product of six-tenths of a percent in the second quarter. This would be the first increase in the G.N.P. since the third quarter of 1981 and a sign that the recession may be over.

Consumer prices rose 1 percent in May, pushing the Consumer Price Index back to a double-digit annual rate of 13 percent, the Labor Department said.

## Computer Secrets Case

Justice Department charges that executives of Hitachi and Mitsubishi Electric had conspired to steal computer secrets from I.B.M. brought arrests and face-saving explanations. Yasukichi Hatano (right), director of Hitachi's computer division, said that his company had "blindly trusted" the supplier, a decoy concern set up by the F.B.I., to obtain information legally. He described the payment of \$540,000 for the data as "relatively expensive, but not ridiculously high." Mitsubishi, after an earlier denial, said one of its employees had paid about \$20,000 for "simple information," but said it did not consider the payment illegal.



The New York Stock Exchange				
MOST ACTIVE STOCKS				
WEEK ENDED JUNE 25, 1982				
Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng	
IBM	9,389,100	55	+ 1%	
MT	4,419,300	36%	+ 8%	
MesaPt	3,927,900	13%	- 3	
IBM	3,260,800	60%	+ 1%	
G Mot	2,653,200	46	+ %	
ATT	2,624,000	50%	- %	
Chlcrp	2,450,900	25	+ %	
Exxon	2,141,400	27%	+ %	
Tandy	2,065,300	27%	+ %	
Es Kod	2,004,000	72%	+ 4	
RCA	1,996,200	17%	+ 2	
Supr Oil	1,848,200	29%	+ 4%	
Digital	1,741,500	69	+ 1%	
Car Pw	1,733,400	19%	- %	
Chrysler	1,660,500	6%	+ %	
Standard & Poor's				
400 Indust	124.7	118.6	122.0	+2.23
20 Transp	17.6	16.4	17.2	+0.56
40 Util	51.7	50.6	51.2	+0.13
40 Financ	12.6	11.9	12.3	+0.19
500 Stocks	111.3	106.3	109.1	+1.86
Dow Jones				
30 Indust	821.6	784.2	803.0	+14.46
20 Transp	321.5	301.4	315.3	+10.34
15 Util	107.3	105.2	106.5	+0.13
65 Comb	318.8	304.2	312.7	+5.95
The American Stock Exchange				
MOST ACTIVE STOCKS				
WEEK ENDED JUNE 25, 1982				
Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng	
DomeP	2,142,500	4%	+ %	
WangB	772,000	27%	+ %	
ChfId	453,500	16%	+ %	
IntBkt	432,100	5%	+ %	
GHCd	375,300	11	+ %	
CrystO	268,500	11	- %	
TchSym	276,300	9%	+ %	
ChmpH	272,800	3	+ %	
IntEn	248,700	1%	---	
Vrbm s	247,900	30	+ 2%	
MARKET DIARY				
	Last Week	Prev. Week		
Advances	1,148	441		
Declines	683	1,426		
Total Issues	2,101	2,087		
New Highs	49	25		
New Lows	0	252		
VOLUME				
(4 P.M. New York Close)	Last Week	Year To Date		
Total Sales	262,953,812	6,331,436,949		
Same Per. 1981	223,459,124	5,987,087,540		
WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES				
	High	Low	Last Change	
New York Stock Exchange				
Indust	72.49	69.98	71.36	+1.44
Transp	54.00	51.57	53.10	+1.25
Util	36.89	36.60	36.60	-0.25
Finance	63.23	61.66	62.64	+0.72
Composite	63.65	61.63	62.72	+0.98
MARKET DIARY				
	Last Week	Prev. Week		
Advances	432	187		
Declines	325	589		
Total Issues	920	921		
New Highs	25	13		
New Lows	101	121		
VOLUME				
(4 P.M. New York Close)	Last Week	Year To Date		
Total Sales	16,753,840	515,254,480		
Same Per. 1981	28,044,645	712,597,735		



# The New York Times

Founded in 1851

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## The Spoiled Broth of Foreign Policy

There has not been a moment's peace in 18 months in the Reagan foreign-policy kitchen. The public heard all about the tantrums of the chef, Alexander Haig, the rival concoctions of the crew at the Pentagon, the sabotage of the soup by the White House stewards. Personalities aside, the reckless feuding was said to be normal; the modern world simply looks different to diplomats than to soldiers, and still more different to their political bosses. Sooner or later, the President would set his course and, like Truman, Eisenhower and Ford, yield enormous power to his Secretary of State.

The crucial message of Mr. Haig's bitter resignation is that President Reagan has done neither — and that his failure is not just procedural but fundamental. As with economic policy, Mr. Reagan wants too many conflicting things at once and has let no one order the priorities. And that is just another way of saying that he has straddled his party's incompatible yearnings — of right-wing ideology and business-like pragmatism — and let them proceed to wreck each other's designs.

Mr. Reagan began with a call to arms against the Soviet Union, scorning negotiations with Moscow except perhaps with an unattainable position of superior strength. Not until the allies and his own budget office and finally even the public rebelled, did the President show any interest in arms control — a belated victory for the pragmatic Mr. Haig that he was not, however, less free to pursue.

The President's simplistic ideology was equally at war with other American interests. Mr. Haig

wasted a year to prevent the wrecking of relations with Peking with petty expressions of affection for Taiwan. A year was wasted also in the Middle East with empty anti-Soviet stratagems and arms sales while Israel was left to take the crucial Palestinian issue into its own violent hands. The fatuous search for ideological order in Latin America only magnified El Salvador's war beyond all reason; it had its predictable reward in the tawdry embraces of the dictators of Argentina and Cuba.

Mr. Haig finally understood that these contradictions and distractions were not only the product of normal bureaucratic comeback. They are the result of the President's desire to sound like Jesse Helms but to perform like Henry Kissinger: trade with the Russians but also undermine their system; crusade against tyranny but also keep the world safe for business. The two Republican parties that have vied for power for a generation were both given power and lamely told to "coordinate."

In this debilitating contest, Secretary Haig represented experience against faith, realism against doctrine. But so will George Shultz, as he slowly masters many unfamiliar issues. Like the bureaucracy he will head, Mr. Shultz is a true conservative, devoted to international strength and accommodation, not purity in isolation.

So it may well be that his strength of character and better rapport with the President will in the end let Mr. Shultz win most of Al Haig's battles. But the bulk of the President's term would never have been thus squandered if Mr. Reagan really knew not only whom he wants in foreign policy-making, but what.

## The Toy, Coy Convention

The Democrats' mid-term conference in Philadelphia looks like a toy convention, a coy trade show. The hall is a third the standard size. The boisterous demonstrations that, in election years, run 30 minutes are held punctiliously to 60 seconds. The declarations of party policy are bland expressions of consensual virtue.

But none of that should obscure the serious, constructive work of the conference. The very act of convening is the beginning of conventional wisdom. The 50,000 words of policy statement to be ratified today may only define the least common denominator, but common it will be. And then there are the candidates.

They provide the coyness of the convention. What's the battle slogan proudly proclaimed on the sign on Alan Cranston's command trailer? "Cranston Advisory Committee." Everyone knows where the red "Mondale '84" buttons come from but the former Vice President's aides take care to distribute them discreetly. Edward Kennedy does not serve up lobster and chowder to 2,000 people in Philadelphia because he is running for re-election in Massachusetts. The candidates are here, in force. People came to Philadelphia with two questions about them and both already have been answered.

The first concerned the second tier of candidates, Senators Cranston, Ernest Hollings, Gary Hart and John Glenn and Reubin Askew, the former

Florida Governor. Could any break into the floodlit grand tier? The second concerned Walter Mondale. For all his energetic campaigning, the former Vice President has been slipping in the polls. Could he stay in the first tier with Senator Kennedy?

Senator Kennedy won't appear until today but the others have had their chance, and the answers are a flabby no and a firm yes.

"We must look beyond the battles of today — and raise our sights to the opportunities of tomorrow," said Senator Glenn to limp response. The oratory of the other lesser-lights ignited no more enthusiasm. But Senator Mondale won repeated ovations when, for example, he said, "Mr. President: We are not a lazy people. We don't want welfare. Americans want to work. . . . And you should stop blaming people and start helping Americans get back to work." A delegate from Oregon said what many felt: "I didn't know he had the fire. He turned a lot of heads."

One need not be a Democrat to be struck by what the Democratic conference shows about the way American politics contains ambitions, channels discontents and digests confusions. Democrats were annoyed when Richard Richards, the Republican chairman, took away some of their thunder by coming to Philadelphia for a news conference. Politics, he said in sly rebuttal, "is not gracious." Right, but it is civilized.

## A Nameless Crime

An ancient crime has crept to a new prominence in the United States. Its victims are only the best or most eminent, those whose fall can jar the edifice of the state. Despite tragedy after tragedy, the crime that is their common link is hard to see because there is no name for it.

The crime is committing a historically outrageous act to procure a name in history. It's something more than infamy. It might be called herostratism, after Herostratus, the Greek who sought lasting fame by burning the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, a wonder of the ancient world.

By his own admission, desire for infamous celebrity led John Hinckley to make his attempt on President Reagan's life. His first concern after the crime was how it was playing on television. The same purpose doubtless drove other assassins who,

with no obvious political end, have set their sights on those in the public eye. The terrorist kills anonymously or in the name of his cause. The herostratist aims only to link his own name with that of his innocent target. Governor Wallace and the singer John Lennon may have been victims, and perhaps notoriety was among the urges of the others who have taken shots at public figures without clear motive.

Herostratism may not, as Europeans believe, be a characteristically American crime. But bringing the United States into the community of countries that forbids the unlimited public ownership of guns would be a step forward. Another would be to reduce the culturally sanctioned celebration of violence. The Ephesians forbade the mention of Herostratus's name. An empty gesture, but fitting to the crime, and it was at least an attempt to do something.

### Topics

## Banners / Birds / Buses

### New Glory

The President has a flag. Cabinet departments have flags and states have flags. So, asks Representative Austin Murphy of Pennsylvania, why not Congress?

He proposes a blue one, with 50 gold stars representing present and former Congressmen and white letters: "The Congress of the United States in the Service of a Free Nation."

By itself, it's a harmless conceit, though the members would be wiser to stick with Old Glory rather than thus to court vainglory. And that's the problem.

The Imperial Congress, people say, and small wonder. Congressional marble and mahogany are metastasizing all over Capitol Hill. Committees and staffs proliferate.

Next, someone will want a Congressional seal, a Congressional song, a Congressional flower, even a Congress-

sional bird. If so, it would probably be, like the proposed flag, a turkey.

### The Late Tex

"When I talk about Tex, I hope I don't sound like a screwball," George Archibald, the director of the International Crane Foundation, said of his extraordinary efforts to induce the whooping crane, who mistook him for her mate, to breed.

Dr. Archibald danced with Tex and helped her build a nest. He's no screwball: In June Tex increased the perilously scarce whooping crane population by a fledgling named Gee Whiz.

But nature, despite man's best efforts, continues to be red in tooth and claw: Tex was mauled and killed by a raccoon last week as were two other cranes. Dr. Archibald says he'll miss her. So will we. We also thank heaven, and Dr. Archibald, that Gee Whiz is

around. Far more than merely continuing Tex's unique genetic line, the fledgling bears witness to the love of a man for a bird. And vice versa.

### Saunas on Wheels

The only thing worse than coping with a technology that doesn't work is pretending that it does. Consider the new M.T.A. buses: Some have windows that do not open at all, others only taken apertures that provide the merest breath of ventilation.

Air conditioned buses, the theory goes, don't need windows that open. Yet the M.T.A. estimates that units on more than half of its buses don't work. They are potential saunas on wheels.

The old-fashioned windows did not always open and occasionally hung limply from their moorings, but they promised the possibility of air without dependence on a fragile technology.

### Letters

## Hinckley's Insanity Plea and 'Convolved' Justice

To the Editor:

In John Hinckley's trial for the attempted assassination of President Reagan, no one questioned whether he committed the murderous act. The only question was whether his intention was genuine or subject to disqualification by reason of his mental processes. Should we disqualify an intention if our tracing from motive to that intention is convoluted, strange, pathetic, illogical, deceptive, self-deceptive or any combination of the above?

In a free society the law can and must be straightforward and unconvoluted in its response to what we do, regardless of the extreme convolutions of some of our motives. Even mitigations of the law should be straightforward — for example, self-defense.

The rule of law requires clarity to be meaningful to the law-abiding and deterrent to the criminal. Nothing less will satisfy our sense of justice. The insanity defense is convoluted to the point that it has become its own caricature. The "diagnoses" used are covert judgments of character development in pseudo-scientific garb.

If the prosecution in the Hinckley case now shifts ground and affirms "mental illness" (as has been hinted) in order to keep him confined in a mental hospital, we will have one more reason to ask: Is John Hinckley's thinking more convoluted and confusing than the system that has judged him?

Charles Meach 3d drives the point

home in the description of the deceptive strategies he used in connection with his beating the rap with the insanity defense. This led to a change in the law on such a defense in Alaska (news story June 22).

Straightforward response from our judicial system is necessary to pro-



mote responsibility. The insanity defense says, in effect, "You poor thing, you couldn't help what you did." And that promotes irresponsibility.

When convoluted thinking is used by a John Hinckley to bypass his personal scruples, that's one thing. When our courts allow these same convolutions to bypass the public's demand for justice, then the system deserves the faint smile from John Hinckley

when the jury foreman said: "Not guilty by reason of insanity."

My hunch is it was a smile of contempt as well as relief.

NORMAN H. PEARL, M.D.  
White Plains, June 23, 1982

The writer is a psychoanalyst and psychiatric director at the Independent Consultation Center, New York City.

To the Editor:

It is perplexing. Two unfortunate women in California, separately, make aborted attempts to shoot President Ford. He is not shot. They hit no one else and do not even damage store fronts. They are tried, convicted and given long sentences.

In Washington, the son of wealthy, conservative parents fires at the President, hits him, nearly taking his life, wounds two law officers and ends the career of a fine public servant. He does this before hundreds of witnesses, millions on television, yet he is found not guilty.

Such infuriating mumbo-jumbo must be halted.  
JAMES A. MICHENER  
St. Michaels, Md., June 21, 1982

To the Editor:

Donald Regan, Howard Baker and William French Smith have all questioned the soundness of the insanity defense. The extraordinary thing about Hinckley and his trial isn't the flaws in the insanity defense but the ease with which a troubled young man got hold of a gun.  
ALEX WILKINSON  
New York, June 22, 1982

## Double Standard For Self-Defense

To the Editor:

Mike Keefe's political cartoon depicting an Israeli armored vehicle patrolling the polar icecap (Week in Review, June 20) is indicative of the basic American inability to understand the Jewish state. Suffice it to say that a British tank parked several thousand miles from Liverpool in a Falklands marsh seems no less ludicrous. The difference is that the latter is reality, as is the bloodshed involved, yet here our judgmental nerves remain unfrayed.

We reserve privileges for Britain and ourselves for which Israel must continually atone. English soldiers cruise around the globe for an archaic colonial principle and emerge as sea-sick heroes. Israeli soldiers cross the next valley to remove civilian-bound Kibbutz rockets and are branded as expansionist barbarians. Enthusiasm for British adventurism rivals contempt for Israeli self-defense.

Do we Americans really have a moral prerogative to object to Israel? Can the civilization which systematically vaporized the Indian peoples on this continent make suggestions? Can the society which formalized black bondage and segregation assume an absolute historical right of doctrine? Can the ethnocentric generation of Vietnam be critical of anybody's foreign policy? In this specific era of short-term, rejected Presidents, can we single out any foreign leaders for truancy when we are so irreverent of our own? Has not Hiroshima bound us to any thoughtfulness?

Mr. Keefe, Israeli tanks are not heading for the North Pole or even Nagasaki. But, save your pen. You may yet sketch American jeeps being fueled in San Salvador.

(Rabbi) BENJAMIN A. KAMIN  
North American Director  
World Union for Progressive Judaism  
New York, June 20, 1982

## What's Wrong With One-Term Presidents?

To the Editor:

Prof. Henry F. Graff's Op-Ed article "Presidents: Hired, Mired, Fired" (June 20) mistakes.

With Ronald Reagan likely to become the fifth President in a row to be discarded after one term in office, Professor Graff is understandably concerned about the effect of this "cease picture" of successively rejected Presidents on the future of the Republic.

Without pausing to examine the merits of the men or the reasons for change, however, he skims lightly over "the larger question" of whether any President can gain "popular re-endorsement" and blames our "fickleness and improvidence with political talent" for denigrating the Presidency and thereby endangering the nation's "stability and concord." (Were we not only recently cautioned about the danger of the "Imperial Presidency" and chided for re-electing Franklin Delano Roosevelt again and again?)

Professor Graff is not alone in his anxiety about the succession of failures in the White House. "But where he finds 'political talent' in the men who gave us Vietnam and Watergate and are now giving us unemployment, El Salvador and a nuclear arms race, I (and evidently a majority of polled Americans) see only mediocrity, incompetence — and less."

Where he would give White House failures a second term, we believe they have already done the nation sufficient harm and would not compound the folly. Where he is concerned that the failure to re-elect men demonstrably not qualified for the office undermines "continuity" of national policy, we would be appalled by their policy of continuation of their policies.

Despite Professor Graff's gloomy forebodings, the Republic has already survived 13 of 39 Presidents who were denied re-election (14 if you count

Cleveland, who was defeated in 1888 but elected four years later). We would do well to make it 14 of 40. And instead of lamenting our refusal to re-elect proven failures to the world's most important office, Professor Graff — and the nation — would be better advised to examine how they got to the White House in the first place.  
HERMAN LUBERMAN  
Cranford, N.J., June 21, 1982

To the Editor:

Henry Graff's article concerning the "impudence and enmity" of the American electorate, as allegedly demonstrated by the recent series of Presidents who failed to retain public confidence, sadly lacks historical perspective. If Mr. Reagan does become "a fresh failure in the White House — the fifth in a row," this will be far from the historical anomaly Professor Graff seems to think.

He might do well to review Presidential history from 1863 to 1882: Andrew Johnson was impeached, nearly elected and then "re-elected" to office; Ulysses Grant was disgraced in office and denied the third term he wanted. Rutherford Hayes was not re-nominated. Following Garfield's assassination, Chester Arthur was denied nomination for a full term of his own. Grover Cleveland was elected and then defeated in his try for re-election. Benjamin Harrison was elected and defeated in his re-election attempt.

During this period of turmoil in the Oval Office, the Republic not only survived but prospered. The foundations of the modern industrial state were established and groundwork laid for the nation's emergence as a world power.

The Presidents who have failed in the past 15 years have themselves to blame, not the people. And if Mr. Reagan fails, this will be true in his case as well.  
THOMAS CARTER  
Dayton, Ohio, June 20, 1982

## A Closer Look at Soviet Soldiers and Their Army

To the Editor:

In his June 8 Op-Ed article "The Soviet Soldier," Representative Les Aspin undertook the complex task of comparing the Soviet and American armies, which are vastly different in structure and philosophy.

While rightly criticizing those experts who overestimate the qualities of the Soviet soldier, Congressman Aspin did exactly the opposite.

Although the problems raised in the article are real, the true extent to which they influence the Russian military performance and how they are treated in the Soviet Army are considered by Mr. Aspin in an abstract context. He does not take into account the distinctions between the various branches of the Soviet armed forces, or where they are located. Nor does he take into account the changes in the Soviet military for the past 25 years.

As a student of Russian military history and someone who had the misfortune to spend four years in the Soviet Army, I would like briefly to address several questions raised in the article.

Complaints about food and abuse by senior recruits against rookies are common issues in any army. I could not stand the boiled eggs given to us every day when I served in the Israeli Army. In the Soviet Army food is coarse and fatty, but it does contain sufficient protein.

Anyone who doubts that can look at the faces of Soviet soldiers. They are not starving. The size and quality of rations vary, with the navy, air force and border guards afforded better

service. The troops stationed in Siberia and the Far East have food inferior to that of European Russia because of the virtual absence in the diet of fresh vegetables for most of the year.

The abuse by senior recruits does exist and is dealt with by commanders. It does not, however, reach the scale of a reign of terror, frequent physical assaults or food deprivations, as described by Mr. Aspin. The tough conditions of service do contribute to strong friendship among all soldiers.

For what reasons I do not know, a very small number of Russian soldiers seem to need glasses. In my own detachment of about 40, only three or four wore glasses, and then only for reading. Thus, it is understandable that among the Soviet infantry and tank battalions in East Germany, considered elite troops, there are few soldiers wearing glasses.

Mr. Aspin's observations reflect a disarray endemic in Soviet area studies. Among the many research institutions, coordination is non-existent. The American public is sharply divided about almost any issue concerning the Soviet Union, and we still have much to learn about the Soviet soldier.

YITZHAK TARASULO  
Mount Vernon, N.Y., June 18, 1982

## Cheers for U.S. Help

To the Editor:

I would like to add my voice to those who have already expressed appreciation for the support the United States gave Britain during the Falkland Islands crisis and, in particular, for helping us to demonstrate that naked aggression does not pay and that international law and order must be defended, if necessary, by force.

You supported us despite your concern over your important relationships with Latin American countries. I hope, however, that in your efforts to repair these relationships you won't bring pressure to bear on Britain to start negotiations with the Argentines on the question of sovereignty in the Falklands. After the events of the past few weeks and the sacrifices we have made, this is not now possible.

Further, I do not believe that you will gain the good will or the respect of Latin American countries by being seen to put pressure on Britain.

While a number of Latin American countries will continue to make anti-American public statements because of your support for Britain, it should be remembered that many of them are more than a little irritated by the totally irresponsible and disastrous adventure on which the Argentines embarked.  
LORD AIRLIE  
London, June 22, 1982

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The Times welcomes letters from readers. Letters for publication must include the writer's name, address and telephone number. Because of the large volume of mail received, we regret that we are unable to acknowledge or to return unpublished letters.



PARIS, June 26 — Barely back in the saddle after castle-hopping through Europe, President Reagan has revived frictions with allies that his trip was so carefully planned to ease.

Secretary of State Alexander Haig's resignation, after several other upsetting decisions, led a French TV commentator to wonder if relations with the Reagan Administration aren't even bumpier than the uneasy four years with President Carter. With hindsight, officials now see the recent resignation of State Department economic expert Robert Hormats as a first signal that right-wingers were getting feisty again.

Many Europeans are even angrier now because they feel they were misled during the long ascent to recent summits and by the sweeping assurances Mr. Reagan gave during his visit.

Apparent U.S. support for Israel's wanton use of force in Lebanon has puzzled and disturbed the allies. But the key issue is new U.S. sanctions to block the gas pipeline deal with the Soviets. Washington seems to underestimate the implications.

Beyond practical interests, it has become a symbol of far broader questions about East-West relations and American foreign policy.

Last week, the U.S. announced it was extending its embargo on American equipment to include foreign companies with U.S. licenses. To enforce this legally questionable move, Under Secretary of Commerce Lionel M. Oliver said a list of foreign companies selling oil and gas equipment to the Soviets was being studied to "look at the range of dependencies they have on the U.S. for other things."

The license deals often involve reciprocal arrangements. The threat was to cut off trade that has nothing to do with the East bloc if the firms involved refuse to obey the embargo.

It all adds up, in European eyes, to a Washington order to make economic

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS

## Home From The Tour

By Flora Lewis

war on the Soviet Union or risk economic war with the U.S.

National security adviser William Clark's winning argument in the fight with Mr. Haig was that the U.S. must have a tough policy toward the Soviets, and if the allies don't shape up, too bad for them. That's a strange follow-up to Mr. Reagan's rousing speeches about undying support for the alliance and America's will for peace.

Underlying the U.S. approach is a belief, apparently dominant again at the White House, that Soviet policy can be changed by squeezing its already bloodless economy.

The basic objection to the pipeline has little to do with the potpourri of arguments Washington has made. The U.S. said the gas deal would make Europe too dependent on Soviet energy supplies. But now Washington looks for "dependencies" on U.S. products as political leverage against allies.

Then it said Western credit sales endangered the banking system with bad debts and subsidized the Russians. But the Soviet Union is the one East bloc country that has remained credit-worthy, and East-West trade is dropping anyway.

It isn't exports but imports Washington is really trying to block. At the end of the decade gas sales would earn some

\$10 billion a year in hard currency for Moscow, minus debt repayment and servicing. Russia could then shop more widely in the West to make up for its own poor production.

In his recent strategy speech, Mr. Clark said we "must force our principal adversary, the Soviet Union, to bear the brunt of its economic shortcomings." Washington appears to be preparing a trade hedge, if the arms race actually curtailed, to keep up the economic pressure on Moscow.

Expanding trade during a decade of détente didn't make the Russians behave in Afghanistan or Poland, or slow their arms buildup. So, the reasoning goes, reverse direction. If the south wind didn't strip the bear's hide, the north wind will.

But the evidence is that it doesn't make much difference. Because the Soviet Union is not a free country, outside developments that make things easier or harder for its people don't provoke internal pressures to change the Government. Someday, after the Brezhnev generation of stagnation, there will be another push for reform, but the West can scarcely affect when and how it will come.

A tough stance that can't deliver isn't a tough policy. It looks reckless and renews doubts about U.S. overall intentions, especially when it comes alongside defense planning that envisages "protracted nuclear war."

Meanwhile, it does affect West Europeans acutely worried about recession. German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt stressed that the first "strategic interest" of the West is to restore its own economic health, a firm reminder that missiles won't keep jobless Germans in line.

The Presidential traveler is home from his whirlwind tour. The smiling snapshots faded fast and the souvenirs seem forgotten. George Shultz, Mr. Haig's successor, is known and respected in Europe, but he comes when allied relations are heading for another rough ride.

WASHINGTON, June 26 — President Reagan should be comfortable now. He has turned the foreign and defense policies of the United States over to his old California buddies, Judge Clark at the National Security Council, George Shultz at the State Department, and Cappy Weinberger at the Pentagon.

These are all intelligent and attractive men, unencumbered by long experience in the conduct of foreign affairs. The surprising thing is that the President didn't just turn the whole foreign policy mess over to the Bechtel Group, Inc., where Mr. Weinberger and Mr. Shultz came from. This would at least have got the Government off the Government's back.

A strong case could be made for shaking up this Administration, since there's no way to get rid of it until 1984. Even for getting rid of Al Haig, who knew more about foreign and military affairs than the President or any other member of the Cabinet, and had the bad judgment to make this known.

But the responsibility for this embarrassing tangle rests with the President. He knew little about foreign affairs when he came here, except that they were foreign, and a bit of a nuisance. Harry Truman had the same problem, and delegated it first to Secretary of State Jimmy Byrnes, who, like Mr. Haig, thought he was smarter than the President, and was, but had to be fired for letting it be known. Then Truman gave free rein to General Marshall and Dean Acheson at State, and the system worked.

Not so Ronald Reagan. It was thought when he was elected that he would select George Shultz as Secretary of State, since economic policy was central to foreign affairs. Mr. Shultz was very close to Helmut Schmidt of Germany and President Giscard d'Estaing of France, from the days when they had been finance ministers together.

But when Mr. Shultz was inter-

## WASHINGTON

## Leave It To California

By James Reston

viewed later about why he hadn't joined the Reagan Administration at State, he replied simply: "I wasn't invited."

Mr. Reagan, with the strong support of his wife, then turned to Mr. Haig, who has performed at State precisely as expected. As Mr. Reagan must have known, Al Haig is a military officer, accustomed to authority. At the Pentagon, decisions are made at the top and carried out by command at the bottom. At the State Department, policies originate at the bottom or the middle levels of the professional bureaucracy, and are usually recommended by consensus and put to the President by the Secretary of State for the President's decision.

President Reagan cut across this normal procedure. In effect, he said, "You know me, Al," and promised him authority and then took it away. He surrounded Mr. Haig with sincere and dedicated anti-Communists in the National Security Council and the Pentagon, and that was not all.

He announced that Vice President Bush would be in charge of "crisis management," normally the function of the Secretary of State. And when the President was going to Europe this month for his summit meeting with the other leaders of the alliance, he sent George Shultz ahead to survey

the scene and advise him what to do. We should have known then that Al Haig was on the skids.

It may be that Mr. Haig resigned as a result of policy differences over Lebanon and the President's decision to embargo allied aid for the Soviet gas pipeline, which the Secretary thought would merely infuriate the European allies without hurting the Soviets.

But for whatever reason, Mr. Haig either quit or was shoved, and nothing illustrates the confusion in the conduct of foreign policy better than the way it was done.

Precisely at the critical moment of the Lebanon crisis, and just before the nuclear arms negotiations with the Soviets, the President simply came into the White House newsroom, sweating and obviously embarrassed, to announce Mr. Haig's resignation. Then he hurried out, refusing any questions, offering no explanation, and got into his helicopter with a wave for a weekend at Camp David.

Mr. Haig was not much better. He came to the State Department press auditorium half an hour late, proclaimed that he had agreed with the President that "consistency, clarity and steadiness of purpose were essential to success . . . but that it has become clear to me that the foreign policy on which we embarked together was shifting from that careful course . . ."

But this was not "clear" to anybody else. Like Mr. Reagan, he offered no explanation and left the State Department, proclaiming his confidence in an Administration he had just denounced.

"What does all this mean?" one of our most distinguished allied ambassadors asked. "I've been here for about three years and will now be greeting my fourth American Secretary of State — Vance, Muskie, Haig, and now Shultz. Isn't this rather odd?"

Everybody in this town would agree that it sure is.

## Sensible Policy Toward Moscow

By Marshall D. Shulman

After President Reagan's speeches before the United Nations and the British Parliament, in which he attacked the legitimacy of the Soviet regime and called for a global campaign to undermine it, a prominent television commentator observed that the President's rhetoric toward the Soviet Union was harsher than his actions. This judgment obscures the fact that the rhetoric is not cost-free to America and that the Administration's conflicting actions toward the Soviet Union reflect a confusion of purposes.

Toward what end is the Administration driving in its conduct of our relations with the Russians?

One day, Mr. Reagan speaks of his desire for negotiations to bring the nuclear military competition under control. On other days, he calls for a crusade to bring the Soviet system to its knees, for economic warfare, for maximizing the Kremlin's troubles in Eastern Europe, for playing upon nationalistic sentiments of Soviet minorities.

Negotiations with Moscow to stabilize and moderate the competition in strategic nuclear weapons are at long last about to begin, on Tuesday, but no one can expect them to be productive when at the same time the Administration seeks to bring about collapse of the Soviet system.

It is imperative, given the confusion of purposes in the Administration, that Americans think through where our Government's actions and policies are taking us and whether these serve our national interest.

It is understandable that there is cumulative anger and apprehension

about Soviet conduct. The repressive nature of the Soviet system at home is an offense against the human spirit. The Kremlin has shown little restraint in its military buildup and in its exploitation of conflicts in the third world. The invasion of Afghanistan was a brutal violation of norms of international conduct. All this is properly subject to criticism and condemnation.

But there is a difference between firmness in defense of our interests against Soviet expansionism and a provocative, belligerent crusade to bring down the Soviet system.

There has been a "hidden agenda" in policies urged by the extreme right in this country, even before the beginning of the Reagan Administration.

Punitive actions against Moscow were taken by the previous Administration after the trumped-up trial and sentencing of the dissident Anatoly Shcharansky, the "discovery" of a Soviet brigade in Cuba, the invasion of Afghanistan, and the exile of the physicist Andrei D. Sakharov to Gorky, and by the present Administration after the Polish regime cracked down on the Solidarity movement.

Diplomatic contacts have been drastically reduced; restrictions on economic relations have been progressively tightened, except for shipments of grain, exempted for domestic political reasons; cultural, academic and scientific exchanges have been reduced, and almost all the 11 limited cooperative programs set up a decade ago have been dismantled. Washington has talked of military cooperation with China. Ratification of SALT II, after seven years of negotiations, was shelved; instead, America has sought to force the pace of the nuclear military competition.

On March 30, 1981, hundreds of millions of television viewers throughout the world saw John W. Hinckley Jr. crouch in front of the Washington Hilton Hotel, take deliberate aim at the President of the United States, lodge a bullet within inches of his heart, and shoot down three innocent bystanders.

Fifteen months later, unoffending James Brady remains crippled for life. And some 50 days hence, Mr. Hinckley will be eligible for release following his acquittal by reason of insanity.

Except for those few who ritualistically take comfort in any bizarre result, the world is in a state of shock that so inequitable a result could occur in this country.

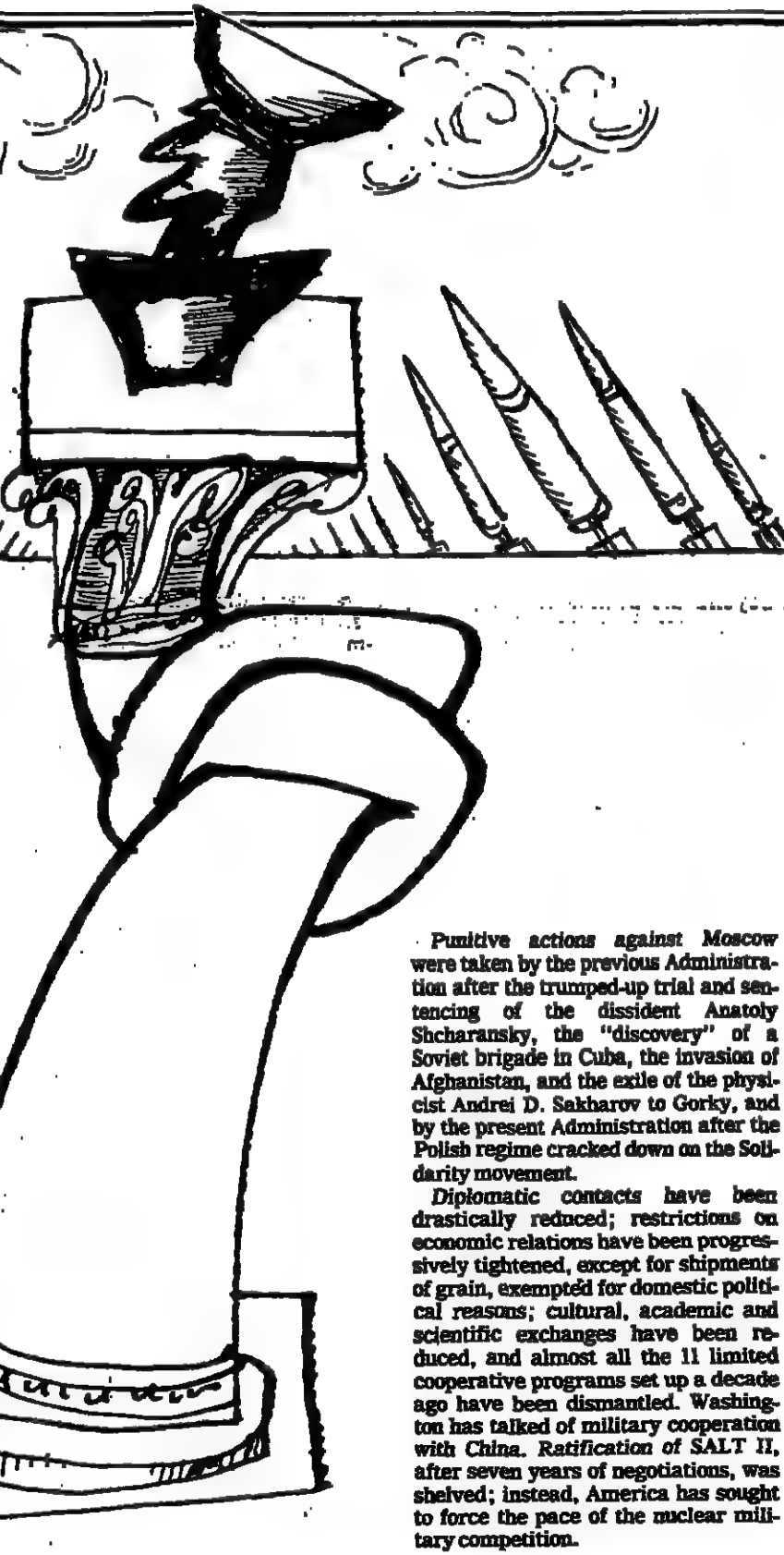
Seldom was a defense of "insanity" less appropriate. Every act of Mr. Hinckley's was deliberate and carefully planned. His acquisition of the gun, his detailed writings to the President, his careful study of the chief executive's schedule, his stalking him to the hotel — all of these were voluntary acts committed with full knowledge of their consequences: an "open-and-shut" case.

The "insanity" defense, which was the only legal trick that could be attempted, seemed properly doomed when Mr. Hinckley was found to be fit to stand trial, because one who is legally insane cannot be

tried because of inability to participate in his defense.

What, then, went awry? The nub of the issue is this: Who has the burden of proof? Is the defendant presumed to be sane or should the prosecution, after a defense assertion of insanity, then be required to prove sanity from every standpoint beyond a reasonable doubt?

Peculiarly enough, the war on this issue has been waged in the District of Columbia itself, where Congress has been unsuccessful in trying to establish in law a presumption of sanity in cases where insanity is pleaded as a defense because its several attempts have been struck down by the United States Court of Appeals there.



Zoran Jovanovic

## The Hinckley Travesty

By Roy M. Cohn

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Therefore, Judge Barrington D. Parker charged the Hinckley jury that to convict, the Government must "prove beyond a reasonable doubt either that the defendant was not suffering from a mental disease or defect, or else that he nevertheless had substantial capacity on that date both to conform his conduct to the requirements of the law and to appreciate the wrongfulness of his

conduct."

The law is far different and, in the opinion of many specialists, far more realistic in other jurisdictions. For example, some leading New York State cases have held that the jury must consider "the presumption of sanity."

Even under Federal rules, insanity is treated as so procedural a proposition that if the defendant fails to raise it within a certain time before trial, the court may even refuse to instruct the jury on the issue of insanity.

Other than the defiance of all reason that places on the Government the burden of proving sanity at a particular minute, there are unique considerations in the Hinckley case.

Mr. Hinckley's parents had enough money to put up a fortune for a bunch of fancy lawyers and psychiatrists, who notoriously are found on both sides of every hotly contested case. (And the attitude of a jury from the District of Columbia, which voted 74.8 percent against Ronald Reagan in 1980, might reasonably have come into play — shocking as such a thought might be.)

What is the answer? Abolish "temporary insanity" as a defense com-

pletely, or, at a minimum, place the burden of establishing it on the defendant who asserts it.

Only in that way will the interests of the public be protected against terrorism and destruction of the Hinckley type.

And why not a good, fat civil suit by the families of the wounded against Mr. Hinckley and his wealthy parents, who have the millions to finance this fakery, and who accept the blame as theirs?

But now the Hinckley case is over. Jim Brady remains crippled. The successful defense counsel fades from the courtroom with the heart-warming words, "Another day, another dollar." And realizing too late the outrage of what the jury did, two of its members admit their mistakes.

One of them, Mrs. Maryland T. Copelin, was quoted as having said: He "isn't crazy, he is a genius. He manipulated his family, his father and now us."

This travesty should not go unheeded. Let us learn from this lesson and change our laws to protect the innocent from the manipulations of the John Hinckleys of this country who dare leave the maimed in their wake, and walk to freedom without even a word of remorse.

Roy M. Cohn, senior partner in the law firm of Saxe, Bacon & Bolan, has been both a Federal prosecutor and a defense counsel.

## Pity Near-Hinckleys

By Bonnie Powell Robinson

Let's put aside legal consideration of insanity for a moment and look at the irrational side of life upon which many of us sometimes walk.

"Normal" people are flooded every day with scores of barbaric, angry impulses. How many times has a New Yorker heard an irate cab driver viciously curse an errant pedestrian or an irate passenger exclaim about a particularly irritating cab driver, "I could have killed him." Often, I'm sure, I know I have.

What stops that person from acting on that impulse?

Of course, the answer is that we're all taught to cope with the irritating but necessary demands of a civilized society (with which our parents have taught us to cope because, in the end, it is to our benefit). We're also taught to wrestle with our angry impulses (dating back to raging childhood temper tantrums) and to keep them under control (at least partially out of fear of being out of control). For some, it is easier than others.

Fine. Clear. Understandable. Right?

Wrong. Speaking from the other, more irrational side of the fence, I say emphatically, No. I am a former Ph.D. candidate, a reasonably adult, reasonably successful woman married to a successful man. Six months ago, I nearly committed the same type of violent crime of which John Hinckley was accused. Amazed? I am, as I look back on it. I went to a

state with lax gun laws, purchased a gun and ammunition, and tried to decide whether to shoot myself, my husband and a former therapist. Instead, I gave the gun to my therapist.

What I am saying is that mental "health" or "illness" is impossible to judge because it lies on a continuum — from the normal to the hapless but harmless neurotic (only dangerous to himself) to the psychotic (always dangerous to himself and often to others). And the same person goes back and forth on the continuum constantly, if not daily, then weekly, monthly, etc. A measure of stability, of course, is the least variance on the continuum.

If you take a "normal" person and subject him to stress, he may "snap" — or he may not. It depends on how well he is "put together," which is not the equivalent of "will power."

Some of us, though, are less well put together than others. We snap at the slightest stress. The most frightening individual sometimes is the "borderline" individual whose place on the continuum may vary wildly but who, for the most part, covers up his inability to cope with society fairly well. John Hinckley is clearly such a person.

I'm not saying his behavior should be condoned or excused — just understood without such vehement condemnation. It could happen to you. I know, because I've been there.

Bonnie Powell Robinson is a library assistant.



# Arts & Leisure

## The Director Who Made 'Star Trek II'

By STEPHEN FARBER

LOS ANGELES

This summer, the movie companies are in a state of euphoria, congratulating themselves on a new blockbuster almost every week. The latest record-breaker is "Star Trek II: The Wrath of Khan," which grossed over \$14 million in its first weekend in national release — the largest opening registered by any movie in history. The unlikely hero of this box office bonanza is the director, Nicholas Meyer, who had made only one other movie before "Star Trek II."

More surprisingly, he had never even seen the "Star Trek" television series or the first "Star Trek" movie when the producers approached him about directing the sequel. To compound the problem, he was not a science-fiction fan and knew nothing about special effects. "I told them they had the wrong guy," Mr. Meyer says with a smile in the living room of his spacious Laurel Canyon home. But they persisted in trying to enlist him, and their gamble has paid off.

In another sense, Mr. Meyer was an appropriate choice for the movie; he had a reputation for intelligence, literacy, and imagination — the very qualities that won the "Star Trek" TV series its devoted following.

At a time when many young film directors draw their inspiration from comic books, Mr. Meyer is more likely to discourse on George Steiner, Giuseppe Verdi, and Edith Wharton. Even in "Star Trek II," he managed to insert references to "King Lear," "Moby Dick," and "A Tale of Two Cities."

Mr. Meyer first attracted attention by writing the novel and screenplay for "The Seven-Per-Cent Solution," a witty and inventive chronicle of an imaginary encounter between Sherlock Holmes and Sigmund Freud. Mr. Meyer's directorial debut was on "Time After Time," an equally ingenious fantasy that sent H.G. Wells from Victorian London to contemporary San Francisco in search of Jack the Ripper.

He came to direct "Star Trek II" as a result of a series of lucky accidents. After the release of "Time After Time" in 1979, he had spent two years struggling to find financing for a script he had written called "Conjuring," based on Robertson Davies' novel "Fifth Business." Every studio had considered the project too esoteric and had turned it down. Finally, Karen Moore, a childhood friend of Mr. Meyer's who was then working at Paramount, urged him to put "Conjuring" aside and find another project to direct.

"She was over for dinner one night last year," Mr. Meyer recalls, "and she said, 'If you want to learn how to direct movies, you should direct movies. How about the new "Star Trek"?' It was such an off-the-wall suggestion that I told her to send me the script."

Then Mr. Meyer met with the executive producer, Harve Bennett, and the producer, Robert Sallin. He screened a couple of the old TV shows as well as the first "Star Trek" movie. "Sometimes I think my specialty is working on things that haven't quite realized their full potential," Mr. Meyer suggests.

"What I was really doing with 'The Seven-Per-Cent Solution' was not so much competing with Arthur Conan Doyle as competing with other Sherlock Holmes imitations, which I did not think were right. I wanted to get it right. With 'Time After Time,' I read 65 pages of a novel by Karl Alexander, and I thought I'd like it much better as a movie. So I bought the rights to the novel and made the movie what I thought the book should have been."

"Star Trek" was in a way another idea that never quite fulfilled its potential. In the case of the weekly television series, they didn't have the time or the money to do it, and the first film got lost in a maze of special effects. So I thought here was another opportunity to do what I do best — relief pitching."

In addition, Mr. Meyer saw an opportunity to explore themes that interested him. "Death and aging became the themes of the film," he notes. "In



Nicholas Meyer, at left, with Leonard Nimoy on the set of "Star Trek II" — "I thought here was another opportunity to do what I do best—relief pitching."

sion series, returns to wreak vengeance against Admiral Kirk. And the toughest critics of all — the legions of fans of the TV series — seem to have given Mr. Meyer's version an ebullient thumbs-up ("You must call them Trekkers, not Trekkies," Mr. Meyer admonishes.)

There were admittedly some tense moments before the film was released. The "Trekkers" were outraged when they learned that the script called for their favorite Vulcan,

his movie from "Star Trek II: The Undiscovered Country" to "Star Trek II: The Wrath of Khan." "I have a big mouth," Mr. Meyer admits, "and I know that I sometimes rub people the wrong way. I have a reputation for being arrogant, but I don't think I'm arrogant. I don't have any self-confidence, so how could I be arrogant? I do have a very strong sense of what is fair, and when I feel something is unfair, I cannot stop myself from yelling. I'm very childlike in that sense; I'd like to think I'm not childish."

Despite some of the aggravations, Mr. Meyer seems to value what he learned while making "Star Trek II." The challenge of overseeing a space epic forced him to refine his visual story-telling skills; he recognizes that his biggest limitation up to now has been his inability to imagine dramatic confrontations in visual terms. "I think that in my entire body I don't know as much about moviemaking as George Lucas and Steven Spielberg know in their little fingers," Mr. Meyer concedes. "Nevertheless, if somebody said to me, 'You can take a pill and you'll know as much about camera as George Lucas or Steven Spielberg, but you'll lose whatever concern about human beings that you have,' I don't think I would take the pill. On some level, hardware and ef-

fects don't concern me. I think the only time the audience gets really crazy in a movie theater is when the light in the projector goes out, and they can't see the movie."

Like many other directors of his generation, Mr. Meyer spent much of his childhood in movie theaters. "I was a movie freak," he asserts. "I lived in the RKO 58th Street Theater in New York." Nevertheless, his childhood encompassed a good deal besides movies. His father is a New York psychoanalyst and also the author of biographies of Conrad and Houdini. "My father has a wide range of interests," Mr. Meyer reports, "and I probably inherited some of that." As a child, he developed an interest in music and opera, and he also read voraciously. Dickens, Jules Verne, Arthur Conan Doyle, Robert Louis Stevenson, and H. Rider Haggard were his boyhood favorites, and he and his father even made their own eight-millimeter version of "Around the World in 80 Days."

Looking back on his childhood interests, Mr. Meyer says now, "I had a very unhappy childhood, and my life was saved by art in various forms. I still feel that the purpose of art is to give you the courage to face life. It gives you a transfusion, pours blood into your veins, so you can go out and

do battle. I really think that I would have taken my own life if it hadn't been for movies and books and music. As long as I had curiosity enough to want to see the movie that was coming out the next week, that kept me going."

After attending the University of Iowa's writers' program, Mr. Meyer worked as a publicist in New York, then moved to Los Angeles to begin writing novels and screenplays. He hopes to continue creating both fiction and films. "I like to alternate," he says. "Making movies is a social occupation. I'm a gregarious person, and I fall very hard for the people around me. But as a moviemaker you don't have complete control, so it's nice to be able to retreat to the solitude of that little room and work on a novel. At the end of that solitary confinement you are so squirrely that you scream, 'Oh, God, get me on a movie set!' It's becoming tougher because the movie audience is basically illiterate, and my movies have the most appeal to people who read. But the bottom has dropped out of the book business, too."

"I wrote a novel that came out in October, 'Confessions of a Homicide Pigeon.' It got some nice reviews, but it disappeared; it didn't even get a paperback sale. Maybe it was too quiet a book for too noisy a world."

Despite these discouragements, Mr. Meyer plans to forge ahead with some risky projects. Next on his agenda is a four-hour TV movie about the aftermath of nuclear war, a most unconventional offering for network television. Then he hopes to revive "Conjuring," the project that he had been working on before making "Star Trek II."

"I've spent seven years of my life on that project," he says. "It remains the best script I ever read, which may sound funny considering that I also wrote it. It's kind of a 'Citizen Kane' with magic and mysticism, about four people whose lives are intertwined over 60 years as a result of a single incident, the throwing of a snowball. The four characters are the boy who threw the snowball and grows up to be a Charles Foster Kane; the pregnant woman who is struck in the head and goes simple but becomes a genuine saint performing miracles; the boy to whom she gives premature birth who grows up to be a magician like Houdini; and the boy who ducked the snowball and cannot escape the price his conscience insists that he pay for this reflexive action."

"I had that project in mind when I decided to direct 'Star Trek II.' I figured if I directed a movie that made huge amounts of money, then maybe somebody would let me do 'Conjuring.' Beyond that I don't look too far into the future."

Stephen Farber is a freelance writer based in Los Angeles.

**'The studio was nervous about the protests, but I kept saying to everyone, "The issue is not what we do, but whether we do it well."'**

the course of this story, Kirk [William Shatner] faces death for the first time. We're all interested in death. It looked to me like an interesting subject for a film and in a way the inevitable subject now that the cast is older.

"When the producers first came to see me, I said, 'I'm only interested in doing this film if the people can be read.' I was wandering around my living room while I was talking to them, and I said, 'Why can't the characters do things that we do today? Why can't Admiral Kirk read a book? For example, why can't he read "A Tale of Two Cities"?' I pulled that book from my shelf purely at random. Little did I know how much mileage I was going to get out of that in the movie. I had Spock give Kirk that book for his birthday. Later William Shatner and Leonard Nimoy explained to me that it was a peculiarly apt choice, because there had always been this Charles Darnay-Sidney Carton relationship between Kirk and Spock."

A few critics have objected to Mr. Meyer's literary references and philosophical dialogues, but most of them have endorsed "Star Trek II," in which Ricardo Montalban, re-creating a role he first played in the televi-

Spock (Leonard Nimoy), to die in the film.

"We got some threatening calls and letters," Mr. Meyer admits. "There was a fringe element that said, 'If Spock dies, you die.' We had to have a guard on the set. The studio was nervous about the protests, but I kept saying to everyone, 'The issue is not what we do, but whether we do it well. If we do it well, they'll buy it.' Robert Bresson was the one who said, 'My job is not to find out what the public wants and give it to them; my job is to make the public want what I want.' There's no way of saying this without sounding arrogant, but there's only one person I have to please when I'm working, and that's me. It is impossible to second-guess millions of people whom you have never met. Would you tell me a joke that you didn't think was funny on the off chance that it might amuse me? Unfortunately, that's the way many people make movies in this town."

As this comment suggests, Mr. Meyer has had his differences with the studio bosses. He angered the Paramount executives by publicly attacking them for changing the title of

## From Brooks to Broadway?

By ANNA QUINDLEN

Bought two shirts on Thursday night. One was blue and one was white. They arrived at home today. One was pink the other gray. Oh the service. The customer service. The service isn't what it used to be.

Over in shirts, among the muted stripes and the 100 percent cottons, the producer was talking to the lyricist. Jack Gifford had been in, and the producer had talked to him a bit about the problems of mounting a musical in these tough times, a bit about the summer sales. Christopher Reeve and the costume designer for Superman III had been in, and the lyricist spent much of the day consulting with them on Clark Kent's suits and ties.

Of course, lots of perfectly ordinary customers came in, too, and they were met, on the main floor at Brooks Brothers, by two of its longest running salesmen, Joseph L. Runner and Wayne Sheridan. Both men think that retailing and show business have a lot in common; they have been in both professions, and now they are mounting a musical about them. It is called "From Brooks With Love," and it is about the salespeople and the customers on the main floor of a terribly traditional haberdashers. Any resemblance to a real store is completely intentional.

The musical has had many incarnations since Mr. Sheridan, a former chorus dancer whose last Broadway show was "Paint Your Wagon," began with one song in 1973. It was produced in 1974 as a kind of review, entitled "Rags" at the Clove Valley Theater, which Mr. Runner founded in High Falls, N.Y. In 1978, the title was



Wayne Sheridan and Joseph L. Runner, authors of "From Brooks With Love" — "You write about what you know."

changed and the show was presented at a place called Anzalone's in High Falls, and two years later it ran for 12 performances at Theater Off Park in New York City.

Recently, a backers audition was held in the ballroom of the Women's Republican Club in midtown Manhattan. The people at some tables laughed at all the common knowledge jokes, and the people at other tables laughed at all the jokes about customers who return things and insist on bringing their wives in. Those were the people from Brooks.

"I first got the idea from a customer at Brooks," said Mr. Sheridan. "She said to me, 'The service isn't what it used to be.' I thought that would be a

great title for a song. And from there it was natural to think of a musical on retailing."

"We got the title from a customer," said Mr. Runner, an ebullient man who graduated from the American Academy of Dramatic Art. "She signed a gift card 'Dear Aunt Mary — From Brooks With Love.' It seemed perfect."

Both Mr. Runner and Mr. Sheridan say that the idea of a musical about Brooks seems almost preordained to them. Lots of show business people shop there, for one thing. Mr. Runner waits on David Merrick and Mr. Sheridan waits on Greta Garbo. "Jeremy Irons, Gregory Peck — you name them," says Mr. Sheridan.



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(Rahamin Israeli)

## Down to business

By ABRAHAM RABINOVICH/Jerusalem Post Reporter

AS THE smell of gunsmoke and death recedes, a perceptible new scent emerges in Sidon — the heady scent of business.

Trade has energized this coastal city since Phoenician times, and The Merchant sitting beneath the tree in the courtyard said that Phoenician blood was thick in his veins.

"I'd like to do business," he told the Israeli captain finishing his lunch of dined battle rations across the table. "I want to go to Israel to see prices and what you're willing to sell. I can do business in any branch."

The captain was an official of the Ministry of Industry and Trade who had been mobilized into uniform. He was from the Haifa-based northern district, which had become still more northern in recent days. He and his staff, likewise in uniform, had come to see whether Sidon's trading instincts had survived years of civil strife and the Israeli incursion.

They had not yet finished lunch in the army's open-air mess in the center of town when they were snifed out by The Merchant.

"I'm the distributor in South Lebanon for many products from heavy-duty equipment to paper supplies. I'm sub-agent for a Beirut company. If I imported from Israel, I'd be the principal agent."

"What's your annual turnover?" asked the captain. He spoke fluent Arabic but The Merchant, for some reason, insisted on speaking English so the officer spoke Hebrew and had his remarks translated.

"About \$4m.," said the Lebanese.

The officer said the ministry was preparing to take groups of Lebanese merchants to Israel to show them products Israeli companies could sell. The merchants would first have to receive individual permission from the military authorities in order to cross into Israel.

"I'm interested in selling in Israel, too," said The Merchant.

The captain demurred gently.

"At this point, we're not interested in importing from Lebanon."

The Merchant rolled easily with that, weighing his options in the flick of an eye. "That's all right. We can leave that until later. What I can use right now is chicken feed. There is none to be had here. And eggs." He had never, he said afterwards, dealt in chicken feed but he was a businessman who recognized an opportunity.

In the relaxed atmosphere, he suggested to the captain, who had introduced himself by the nickname of Shaika, that the Israeli authorities speed up the normalization process so that businesses could quickly reopen. Too many people were still being held for security checks, he complained, and people were apprehensive moving about. "If we Lebanese are made poor, you will not get what you want out of Lebanon," he said knowingly.

He was certain, said The Merchant, that a combination of Lebanese and Jews would make a powerful trading bloc. "We're afraid you'll eat us," he said with a wink, which gave way to an expression of concern.

"Captain Shaika, we have a feeling we're going to make peace with you," he said as he shook hands. "I think we can do business."

THE FISHERMAN showed his puny catch — about three kilos — of bouri on the Sidon sidewalk. "This is my first day out in almost three weeks. I was afraid to go too far out and stayed inside the port."

The local resident translating said the fisherman normally caught 100 to 150 kilos a day, which he would sell in Beirut in about half a day. He sold this day's load to a single passerby, scooping the fish out of his net and putting them in a bag. For some reason, he began talking

about the Palestinians. "They would fish by throwing dynamite into the water. If you told them anything, they'd point a Kalachnikov at you."

As he left, he called out a prayer for peace and untroubled fishing.

THE OLD CITY of Sidon is authentic and dirty, reminiscent of Acre's. Pictures of youths adorn its walls — PLO martyrs, according to a local resident. Despite the heavy bomb damage along the sea front, the main part of the Old City is surprisingly intact. It is Ramadan and the Muslim population is fasting but the coffee shop on an attractive square is open and filled with men. None is drinking. Pastry shops are also open. "Sidon is famous for its pastries," says a local resident.

"People from Beirut used to come down here to buy."

As the ruins are cleared away, Sidon is emerging in better shape than expected. At first glance, in the immediate post-battle days, Sidon had seemed a murdered city. Now it seems like a badly injured city but viable and basically healthy. Shattered shutters are being raised to reveal handsome shops with glass counters clean and intact. People can be seen plastering bullet holes and cleaning cut debris.

A local-boy-made-good, Rafik Hariri, who became a major building contractor in Lebanon, donated his considerable earth moving equipment in Sidon to rehabilitation efforts. These efforts are being coordinated by the military authorities and local municipality. Hariri, now living in Paris, also sent planes, via Cyprus, loaded with medicine and food.

MAJOR ARNON, the officer in charge of assistance to civilians in Sidon, is in the kitchen on the top floor of his headquarters, trying to fix meat loaf out of a can with a knife. He offers some to a visiting journalist.

Told that a local man is waiting to see him downstairs, he says "bring him up." The local man wants the Israeli army to help with police duties to combat the great increase in robberies by local thieves since the war.

"They have 300 policemen of their own," says Arnon. "If we assigned soldiers to police duties, we'd have 100 journalists here asking why we've become an occupying power."

THE HOME is elegant, the salon could be French. Sitting in high-backed chairs around the room are members of one of the leading families of Sidon. Because of Ramadan, there had been no invitation to lunch but the visitor is offered "a fresher," an exquisite pudding of rice, milk and sugar with what seems to be a tint of rose water.

A sister is down from west Beirut. She is married to a ranking officer of the Lebanese army and had come to see whether her family in Sidon had survived. All had and so had the house, more or less.

"People are staying on in west Beirut either because they have no place to go, or because they're afraid that if they leave, poor people will take over their apartment," she says. "If the Israelis go in, it will be terrible."

Another member of the family says that Israel must root out the PLO from Beirut and Tripoli as well. No one else could do the job. How can the PLO be rooted out by force without destroying west Beirut?

"Frankly," says a cousin, "it's as much a dilemma for us as it is for you."

I'VE SERVED under most of the army spokesmen since the War of Liberation when the one and only "Moish" Pearlman held the job. But I've never seen or heard anything that can match the lessons we've had these past weeks in how to win a war on the battlefield and lose it in front of the microphones.

The Lebanese radio, the PLO broadcasting unit, Radio Damascus and even Pravda (Truth) are still our major sources of information. And why should we not believe them? Even our Knesset members rely on them, while Kofi Yisrael quite unabashedly quotes them in every broadcast.

Minister of Health Eliezer Shostak made a belated attempt to reduce the casualty statistics for Lebanese civilians to safer proportions. It just might have helped if his style of delivery had not been so poor almost as bad as his oratory. As it was, it earned him a two-line mention on the BBC — "the Israeli health minister claims..."

Then, there was government spokesman Dan Meridor's communique: "The cabinet heard a review of the prime minister's visit to the U.S. They discussed the visit and were briefed on the situation in the north." Over and Out.

Another equally voluble government spokesman told us, in two sentences, that "the IDF is currently engaged in implementing the defeat of the PLO." He then added insult to injury by giving us, after a long day of tank skirmishes and artillery exchanges, the casualty figures for two days, all together.

ISRAELI PHILHARMONIC ORCHESTRA, Light Classical Music, Doron Salomon conducting, with Horacio Gutierrez, pianist (Museum Auditorium, Tel Aviv June 17). Mendelssohn: "Ray Blue" Overture; Prokofiev: Concerto No.3 in C Major for piano and orchestra Op.26; Shostakovich: Overture to "The Bartered Bride"; Bartok: Rumanian Folk Dances; Smetana: "Vltava"; Brahms: Hungarian Dances Nos.3 and 6.

IT'S BEEN some time since we have heard so much bad music-making. Doron Salomon is a musical non-personality, and lacks even the knowledge of the basic rules of conducting. His movements relay nothing beyond their physical implications.

For the concert Salomon chose some of the most popular pieces and created, with the exception of the concerto, a tasteless pot-pourri, "Ray Blue" allowed some hope for a reasonable level of performance, but Smetana's overture killed it with a dragged mass of opaque and clustered sounds and then the "Vltava" was a distorted and occasionally incredibly noisy affair. The Hungarian dances by Brahms were so bad that one prefers to say nothing.

The only consolation was Horacio Gutierrez, who gave us in Prokofiev a brilliant display of pianistic skill. Sounding rich in character and content, Gutierrez combined accessibility with exuberant energy. The orchestral part was so poor in shades, colours and plasticity that it was best to ignore it all together. Concentrating on the piano part, one could enjoy it almost without reservation.

BENJAMIN BAR-AM TEL AVIV TRIO, Vera Valdimova, violin; Michael Harna, cello; Emanuel Kravinsky, piano (YMCA Auditorium, Jerusalem, June 20). Mozart: Trio in E Major, K.542; Brahms: Trio No.3, in C Minor, op. 101; Schumann: Trio in F Major, op. 63.

PERHAPS THE atmosphere in the country now explains it, or maybe it was the choice of works. This evening had a meditative, even brooding, quality. The three artists were beautifully attuned to each other's temperament, and tonal and dynamic balance was maintained throughout. The strings produced rich and singing phrases, while the pianist handled his instrument with delicacy and unobtrusively made his leadership felt. The performance of each of the trios was appropriate and fully satisfying.

Mozart's Trio, the first of the last three he wrote in 1788, was composed close in time to the last three symphonies, No.39, in E-flat, No.40 in G Minor, No.41, in C. It was a fruitful year. The trio is a gem in form and content, with surprising turns making one notice its special musing quality and appreciate its subtleties.

The trio by Brahms, a relatively late composition, was written when he was 53, and is characteristic of the composer's drawn-out meditations and emotional complaints about his world. The lively interpretation helped to overcome the effects of verbosity and length. This was not the case in the final trio, by Schumann, written in 1847, when the composer's nerves already began to show incipient illness, and Schumann was shocked by Mendelssohn's death. The three artists could not quite overcome the weaknesses of the work (I doubt anyone could), and it would have been wiser to choose a more contrasting, or effective trio for the finale.

MONTEVERDI CHOIR of Hamburg, Jürgen Jaeger conducting, with the Israel Chamber Orchestra (Jerusalem Theatre, June 21): All-Monteverdi programme: Concerto, Madrigals,

## Defeat by default

LISTENING IN...Ze'ev Schul

MOST CLASSIFIED information does, eventually, find its way to the media, at least bit by bit.

Anyone with attentive ears could get a good idea of how we went about knocking the Syrian Sam 6 missiles — and could learn about the new anti-tank missile that can be launched over impressive distances and was, as we were informed in one broadcast, fired at long distance through the window of a house in which a Syrian tank had taken cover.

This wouldn't be the self-same missile that the prime minister said we sold to the Swiss, classified by him as "the best in the world" now, would it?

Ditto the Hetz anti-tank shells used in 105 mm. guns on our tanks, that can crack a T-72, hitherto assumed to be impenetrable and truly invincible?

The bright young man who provided the downbeat for our afternoon programme on Friday in-

formed us that some half a million Israelis still plan to spend their summer vacation abroad this year.

"And what will they see?" he asked.

"Rosy checked old men — unwrinkled. Places where people still talk of the future." Note the "still."

I thought believing in the future was what this country was all about.

Of course, some people are incurable optimists.

Knesset Member Ra'anan Na'im is a shining example. (Duet, 14.10 hrs. Wednesday, Second Programme). Evidently MK Na'im thinks we have solved all our other problems and that now is the time for Knesset members to do themselves some good. They should be able to mail letters free from anywhere in the country.

And get free dental treatment. He may need it after putting his foot in his mouth like that.

MY FAVOURITE poem of the week is one dedicated to Margaret

Thatcher. It was written, at the behest of the new Saudi King, by the poet laureate of the court in Riyadh: "Her cheeks have the becoming blush of English roses/Her eyes are the eyes of an Arabian mare/As to Her Majesty's prime minister's figure/Beyond compare to all but a beloved mistress." (This from Kofi Yisrael at a pre-dawn hour this week.)

A feeling of pride did pass through me while listening to Congressman Charles Wilson on the Fourth Programme sometime after two o'clock on Saturday afternoon.

The congressman appeared astounded at the enthusiastic reception given to the IDF in the Lebanon. "Almost as if they were liberators." He also spoke of the attitude towards the IDF, in spite of the harrowing experiences the Lebanese had gone through. He told of their relief at being rid of the PLO, and all the things we've been saying for so long, and nobody would believe.

Wilson disclosed that he had left his Israeli guides behind, to do some exploring and investigating of his own.

"I could understand the Christians welcoming you — but the enthusiastic reception by the Moslems was astounding!"

The congressman declared that he would take issue with the falsehoods spread by the media in his country as soon as he gets back home.

Glad to have you aboard, Congressman Wilson.

to this music, but it sounded academic — more "German" than "Italian" to me. (On the other hand, in the capella programme the next night at the Jerusalem YMCA, the choir displayed a much more flexible and colourful sonority in a programme offering delicious examples of 16th-century music from Spain, England, France, Germany and Italy.)

Recently ensembles performing Renaissance and Baroque music have attempted to encourage audience identification with it by presenting the music in a way to show that it has more than historical value.

Needless to say, the performance this evening was beyond reproach, and thus one could enjoy the flawless workmanship.

YOHANAN BOEHM

## Tasteless pot-pourri

MUSIC REVIEWS

Dialogues, excerpts from the opera "Orfeo"; Lamento d'Ariano (4 madrigals); Introduction al Ballet a Ballo.

TO ENJOY a whole evening of Monteverdi requires more than just sitting back and listening to the music. One must consider the historical importance of this musical giant, who lived from 1567 to 1643. He is in a way like J.S. Bach in that his work represents the culmination of a trend and period.

A man of tremendous inspiration, Monteverdi used the accepted forms and gave them drama and individual texture. He also used the

newly "invented" vehicle of opera, which was intended, not too successfully, to be a revival of Greek drama. It became a cultural activity that would survive for centuries.

As much as one respects Monteverdi, there is a limit to suffering when it takes the form of musical moaning about love failed, love unreturned, love lost. The theme of emotional sorrow made for a monotone musical language, emphasized by the black-and-white lack of shading on the part of the choir and the soloists. Perhaps the style of performance is appropriate



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## The crossroads

EXACTLY three weeks after the launching of the war in Lebanon, the government yesterday laid down its terms to the remnants of the PLO enemy besieged in West Beirut. All 15 of the terrorist factions must surrender their weapons to the Lebanese army, and then proceed under the aegis of the Red Cross to the country's border. The U.S. is bidden to provide its "good offices" in peacefully enforcing this ultimatum.

Between the lines of the government's unanimous decision yesterday there lurks a distinct threat. Should the PLO turn down the terms of capitulation, it would face a massive Israeli assault — and the prospect of being wiped out. The government's earlier assurance, given at the behest of the U.S. government, that Israel would not invade West Beirut, will then have been revoked.

According to the White House spokesman last Thursday, Prime Minister Begin repeated that assurance to President Reagan during their meeting a week ago. But Mr. Begin now denies the truth of that statement.

There is good reason therefore for PLO chairman Yasser Arafat to await the assault, as he claims he is doing. The terrorist organization is for the moment in a belligerent mood. It is said ready to dismantle its mini-state in Lebanon, and to submit to Lebanon's sovereign authority — for whatever such readiness may be worth — but not to what its leaders describe as deliberate humiliation. Sa'eb Salam, the veteran Lebanese politician, yesterday warned of a bloodbath if Israel strikes.

Would such a strike be absolutely necessary? Surely when it started, three weeks ago, there was little expectation in the cabinet that the war would come to such a point. True, there is a theory now gaining currency that the modest aims of Operation Peace for Galilee, which were to be won with a minimum of casualties, were never meant to be taken seriously except by the enemy.

You don't telegraph your punches to the enemy, said Gideon Patt, the minister of Industry and Trade, on radio last Friday. This, however, is largely wisdom after the fact — except, possibly, in the case of Defence Minister Ariel Sharon. He, for one, may indeed have meant to fool the enemy. But in equal measure he may have conceived of the idea of an old-fashioned existential war of defence as a convenient means of mobilizing popular support for what, in essence, was from the start visualized as an offensive operation designed to secure major political advantages.

The dissonance between the original conception and its actual unfolding in the field of battle has produced an unprecedented measure of public dissent. Mr. Sharon has met it head-on, by calling for a willing suspension of disbelief and for a moratorium on public controversy *inter arma*.

Mr. Sharon's colleagues have gone along with him, but most of them have probably been just as much taken by surprise at the turn of events as anybody else. They, too, were astonished to find the country on the threshold of a wholly new war the second week of hostilities. Yet at every turn there seemed to be no choice but to ratify the defence minister's moves.

It is arguable that, had Israel's army stopped its advance after clobbering the terrorists in Tyre, Sidon and Damour, and capturing the Beaufort and Nabatieh, it would have scored solid enough a triumph to secure the peace of Galilee, and inflict a stinging defeat on the PLO to boot.

The government, however, pushed for total victory, which would not merely safeguard the peace of the northern settlements but also transform the face of Lebanon — and of Judea, Samaria and Gaza. That was the purpose of the encirclement of West Beirut. Mr. Sharon laid Israel's prestige on the line in the siege of the Lebanese capital. Too much has already been invested in it to permit anything less than the complete rout of the terrorists.

If Israel were now to backtrack on the demands made public yesterday, this would be interpreted as a clear win for the terrorists.

The only question now is whether U.S. envoy Philip Habib may still, despite the slight confusion occasioned by the reshuffle at the top of the State Department, bring the full weight of American diplomacy to bear in favour of a non-violent solution. It may, of course, well be that in order to persuade Arafat & Co. to leave without a fight he would be forced to grant them one major political demand — that he deal with them directly.

But this would, even in military defeat, signify a measure of political recognition.

IN 1956 four young battalion commanders — Mordechai Gur, Rafael Eitan, Yitzhak Hefi and Aharon Davidi — accused their commanding officer of senselessly sending young men to their deaths. They also accused him of having exceeded his orders, sacrificing men for no clear military advantage. Their commander was Ariel Sharon. To repeat this story now, while the war in Lebanon is still going on, could justifiably be interpreted as malicious slander or sly insinuation. Yes, if it were not reflective of a mood one feels at the front. Especially in the Beirut area.

There are men and officers who no longer understand the war's goals. They understand the technical strategic advantage of capturing Bhamdoun, but they cannot fully understand why this should have been worth so many lives and dozens wounded.

Defeatism, or journalistic poison? (to quote the defence minister on television last Friday night). Perhaps. But reflective of a mood at the front.

Politically, one can understand all the advantages of capturing West Beirut and finishing off the last remnants of the PLO there, despite the civilian and Israeli casualties. But that understanding becomes different when one sits with the young men, with their laughter and self-doubts, who will have to execute the task.

AT AN Israel Bonds luncheon in New York last week, Menachem Begin apparently referred to Secretary of State Alexander Haig, saying "an important American friend of Israel" had asked whether he had "any problems with American Jews" following the invasion of Lebanon.

Some of the 2,000 American Jews there in the grand ballroom of the Waldorf Astoria replied to the question of the "American friend" by shouting "no, no." The rest stood up and applauded for almost 10 minutes when Begin told them his reply to the American friend: "The great American-Jewish community has never been so united behind Israel and its cause."

No public opinion poll has been conducted among American Jews since the invasion of Lebanon, and it is difficult to determine whether the reaction of those at the Bonds luncheon, mainly professionals and the well-to-do, reflects the general attitude of the American-Jewish community.

The welcome for Begin was enthusiastic not only at that luncheon but also when he met with the Presidents' Conference and with UJA activists. A pro-Israeli rally was going on in front of the UN building while the prime minister was addressing the General Assembly. The critical question is whether such reactions are a spontaneous outpouring of solidarity with Israel at war or an expression of clear-cut support for the short-term and long-term objectives of the Likud Government.

What is clear, however, is that Begin succeeded in creating the impression among the American administration and the public there and in Israel that the American-Jewish community is united behind the move into Lebanon. That impression was even confirmed by a

## Doubts at the front

By HIRSH GOODMAN

Has their voice been heard in this war? Have we military correspondents been able to report the real story from the front — the human dimension? No, and for good reason. Censorship has been most strict and the army spokesman less credible than ever before. Never before have journalists been more self-restrained, more careful in describing this war, lest they be accused of political or personal bias.

Sharon has never been popular with journalists and has thus never enjoyed a good press — other than from the pens of a few, two of whom are on his staff now. It was important for those correspondents marked with an anti-Sharon bias (which includes almost all the military writers) to be taken as objective.

The result: a factual description of military events, moulded into conformity by the censor, which contained the truth, if one considers the truth to be one dimensional. Facts were deleted by the censor, leaving thoughts and sentences hanging in the air. Other facts had to be attributed to foreign sources, weakening their credibility. Reports from the front could often as easily

have been written from army headquarters in Tel Aviv, after the censor was through with them.

Things we had seen with our own eyes were subtly distorted. The Defence Minister admitted on television Friday night that the IDF did not always return fire at the same spot Israeli forces sustained fire. A rifle bullet loosed by a Syrian soldier in the Bek'a theoretically could unleash a 16-hour bombardment of West Beirut. It is a pity that it took the defence minister two weeks to admit this was the IDF's policy. What has happened in the interim is that thousands of Israeli troops who bear eye-witness to events no longer believe the army spokesman. Dozens of journalists physically present on the scene and witness to the disparity between the official announcements and the truth, no longer believe what they are officially told. Soldiers have taken to listening to Radio Lebanon in English and Arabic to get what they believe is a credible picture of the war. There is no need to elaborate on our current world image.

If one does not believe what the army spokesman has to say on daily events, how is one supposed to believe official explanations of military and national motives?

This doubt as to the honesty of the war and what it is all about has led to unprecedented demonstrations while the guns still blaze. It is this doubt which is calling into question genuine goals and genuine achievement. And it is this doubt one hears at the front line.

Defence Minister Sharon recounted Friday night that he had visited a front-line unit at dawn that morning and how, when a bundle of newspapers arrived, one soldier said to another — "another bundle of poison has arrived."

Very close to the same spot visited by Sharon Friday, three Israeli military correspondents were surrounded by officers and men of four top fighting units, who accused them of covering up the truth, of lying to the public, of not reporting on the real mood at the front and of being lackeys of the defence minister.

We were accused by the overwhelming majority of men — including senior officers — of allow-

ing this war to grow out of all proportion to the original goals, by mindlessly repeating official explanations, we all knew were false. They repeated the latest jokes doing the rounds, like the one about the idiot in the ordnance corps who must have put all Israeli cannon in back to front. "Each time we open fire the army spokesman announces we're being fired at..."

And it was a senior officer who recounted the story about the four battalion commanders and Ariel Sharon at the Mittle Pass in 1956.

Because they do not believe what they are being told, because the censor has distorted genuine coverage of this war, and because they have become suspicious of the goals and motives of the defence minister, men at the front have become cynical, and this is but one step away from disillusionment.

There is no question that these men will carry out whatever orders they are given, and carry them out superbly. Just as they have carried out orders till now, including the taking of the Beirut-Damascus highway at the end of last week, and just as they will go into West Beirut if the government decides they should.

But they made us promise that we would tell the public and the cabinet that they would like to believe in what they are doing and that without truth and trust there can be no belief.

## Pride and anxiety

By LEON HADAR

critic of the Begin government, columnist Nat Hentoff in a front-page article in the *Village Voice*, entitled "The Silence of American Jews."

"When Begin said in New York on June 18 that the 'Great Jewish community of the U.S.' had never been so united around Israel, he was telling the truth, so far as anyone could see," wrote Hentoff. He asks, "What has happened to the conscience of American Jews that at no time during his visit here was Begin given any indication that there are some of us who fear that he and Ariel Sharon are destroying Israel, and that it will survive as a splendid, astoundingly armed *golem*?"

Hentoff, a leftist and a supporter of the PLO certainly did not hide his feelings towards the Israeli action. He was among the group of Jewish intellectuals, which included I.F. Stone, that used a full-page advertisement in *The New York Times* last Sunday for a vicious attack on Israel, accusing it, among other things, of war crimes.

In his *Village Voice* piece, Hentoff argued that he was writing on the subject "because I do not want Israel to become the South Africa of the Middle East," and added that many staff workers for Jewish organizations "agonize about their failure to speak out, because they figure they'll get fired if they do."

Disappointment over the "silence" of the American-Jewish community with regard to the war and Begin's policies in the West Bank was a theme raised by a Peace Now leader, Aluf Mishne (res.) Mordechai Bar-On, at a rally in New York, held a few hours before Begin arrived.

Bar-On is taking a position, being told his audience of mostly young Jews, because "Begin is using the overall solidarity of the American-Jewish community in order to create the impression that American Jewry agrees with his policies, even though many American Jews do not."

ASIDE from the not unexpected dissidence of Hentoff, other left-wingers and the non-Zionist New Jewish Agenda, it is clear that mainstream American Jews, if they have any reservations about the invasion of Lebanon, prefer not to make them known publicly, at least not at this stage of the war.

In public, the leaders of Jewish organizations argue that the Israeli action was inevitable, blaming Palestinian terror and expressing hope that the Israeli military success might lead to progress in the autonomy talks.

"There is pride over the Israeli military success, satisfaction over the defeat of the PLO and hope that it strengthened the chances for peace in the Middle East," noted Prof. Saul Cohen, president of Queens College in New York and one of the heads of the Labour Zionist Alliance. He is not a supporter of the Begin government.

The Israeli action "is recognized as necessary by and large," said Rabbi Alexander Schindler, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Howard

Squadron, the outgoing chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, called the Israel move "expected and necessary." Laurence Tisch, president of the Jewish Community Relations Council of New York, stressed that "there must not be premature Israel withdrawal, leaving a vacuum that will be filled again by hostile elements, threatening Israel's citizens."

Such expressions of support have been coupled with regret over war casualties and concern about criticism of Israel in the media, Congress and among liberal groups. "It's difficult to rejoice when there are so many casualties," said Rabbi Schindler. "Religious Jews are not allowed to rejoice, especially when victory comes at the cost of enemy lives."

Rabbi Walter Wurzburger, president of the Synagogue Council of America, while saying that Israel had no choice in undertaking the military campaign, called the casualties "horrendous," adding that "no one is sanguine about the tremendous cost."

Another Jewish activist speculated that senators and congressmen who enjoy strong backing from the Jewish community allowed themselves, in their meeting with Begin, to express harsh criticism of the Israeli action and concern over those killed as a reflection of the reservations they sense among their Jewish constituents.

"Death and war are ugly," said Nathan Perlmuter, national director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. "But on the other hand, should we accept death raining down on Northern Israel?"

Squadron argued that "there has not been diminution of support for Israel, but there has been a strong, compassionate feeling and concern for the people of Lebanon," while Prof. Saul Cohen believes that "the scene of those senators attacking Begin should concern American Jews, since Congress, and not the president, has been the major centre of support for Israel in Washington."

CONCERN AMONG American Jews for the tragedy of Lebanon has already resulted in several relief efforts for the people of that country. The Joint Distribution Committee has pledged \$100,000. Officials of American-Jewish organizations regretted the coverage of the American media of the war, especially in its first days and particularly on the issue of civilian casualties.

"Some of these officials say Israel should launch an information campaign to correct statistics about civilian casualties and should encourage leaders of the Maronite community in Lebanon to go to the U.S. to present their side of the Lebanese tragedy. The usually pro-Arab columnist Rowland Evans and Robert Novak wrote their first pro-Israel column in years after meeting with Maronites in Lebanon, who recounted how the PLO had terrorized their country."

Public support for the war should not, however, cloud the fact that American Jews are not united behind the Likud government's policies in the West Bank, and particularly not on the issue of Jewish settlement there. If anything, Israel's military action may stiffen the liberal opposition to Begin's views.

The writer is the New York correspondent of *The Jerusalem Post*.

## READERS' LETTERS

## PATHWAY YOUTH PROGRAMME

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post*. Sir, — We are the youth of the Conservative Movement's first Year Programme in Israel, the United Synagogue Youth "Nativ" (Pathway) programme for high school graduates. We are ready to leave, now. Well, maybe not "ready," but at least "prepared."

The year we have spent here has changed all of us. We have been students at Jerusalem's Hebrew University, volunteers on Kibbutz Sa'ad, and even tourists.

This broad Israel experience left a group different from that which came here last September. When we leave, we leave part of ourselves here, but will carry our year with us always.

And yet we are prepared to leave, now. Our Israeli friends question us about this: You are here, stay! You worked with us, continue! In the latest crisis you cried "with us — don't leave us now!"

So, we answer: Our friends: we are prepared to leave because our programme has trained us for work within the frameworks of the Diaspora and Israel, and as builders of bridges between the two.

In the Diaspora, we will be workers. Some will be youth leaders, others campus activists, some leaders within the synagogues. We were prepared for these posi-

tions by leadership-training seminars, offered by counsellors and educators specifically for the *Nativ* programme.

We will also work for Israel herself. We will meet our friends at home, and work among them promoting aliyah and Israel programmes.

Finally, we will provide Americans with the insights into Israeli life which we have gained. Americans are largely ignorant of the problems here and, in times of crisis, are fed misinformation by competent Arab propagandists. In such crises, Israel needs spokesmen, such as ourselves, who know her and can defend her from the hostile media.

Those of us who feel that they are not ready to live away from this land will return on aliyah when their work in America is complete — perhaps right after earning their BA degree. Others see their tasks as stretching far into the future, and are not currently planning aliyah, although as the day of departure grew nearer, even many of these began to wonder if they really could live anywhere else.

E. SCOTT MENTER, (In the name of the 19 members of "Nativ" United Synagogue Youth Year Programme in Israel) Jerusalem (Long Beach, Ca.)

## MORAL BLINDNESS

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post*. Sir, — According to Mark Segal's report of June 14, Prime Minister Begin expressed hopes that Operation Peace for Galilee would erase the trauma of the Yom Kippur War and change the world's attitude toward Israel.

I am struck by the scale of values and the assumptions Begin's hopes imply. Apparently he values national pride and military prowess above human life and social justice and he believes that his perspective is universally shared. Is this the Prime Minister of a Jewish State?

If the army hunts down the last Palestinian guerrilla in Lebanon, will that erase the trauma of the

Holocaust? Are we so blinded by the liberally applied label of "terrorist" that we fail to see that these are human beings, embittered refugees, who, like us require a homeland from which, if need be, they can defend themselves honourably?

The moral blindness of Begin's and Sharon's policies on the West Bank have led us into the quagmire that is war in Lebanon. Do we have the compassion and humility to refuse to let the Palestinians in Lebanon commit suicide through our military might? Or are we all to go down together in a pool of blood?

HADASSAH HASKALE Jerusalem.

## "THE OTHER HALF"

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post*. Sir, — I congratulate Joanna Yehiel on her excellent article, "The other half" (June 17), expressing the feelings of so many women, like me, who would like to actively participate in replacing men who have gone to the battle front.

I, for one, would immediately join a women's national volunteer organization where those interested could register their names, capabilities, etc., in order that they could be called upon in times of emergency.

DOREEN MISHCON Jerusalem.

## PROTECT OUR SONS' LIVES

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post*. Sir, — I vehemently protest the IDF policy of risking our soldiers' lives in hand-to-hand and house-to-house fighting. I strongly suggest that we use air strikes and artillery barrages, etc., to destroy enemy strongholds.

The world always has and always will condemn us no matter what "precautions" we take in these matters. Therefore, let's protect and preserve our sons' lives first!

STANLEY LEVIN Petah Tikva.

## CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post*. Sir, — The declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel states that: "...the State of Israel will guarantee freedom of religion, conscience, language, education and culture..."

The International Conference on the Holocaust and Genocide, towards an understanding, intervention and prevention of genocide, was planned by a group of dedicated people, very much in the spirit of the above-mentioned declaration. The planning has been underway for some three years, during which the Turkish government became aware of the fact that a.o. the Armenian genocide would be discussed.

It was with a shock of disbelief and incredulity that we were informed that the Israeli Government

had succumbed to Turkish pressures not to support nor officially recognise this conference. Moreover, that the Israeli Government has influenced many internationally well-known authorities, connected through their work with the study of the Holocaust, not to participate.

The undersigned are shocked, saddened and very concerned about this development; it reminds us of the conspiracy of silence which helped bring about the Holocaust in the first place. It is a development which is directly contradictory to the very essence of the existence of the State of Israel.

L. FORTUS and 25 other signatories from Israel, the United States, Holland and Canada Kfar Sava.

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## LIGHTS ON FOR ZAHAL

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